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Vol. 70 : No. 1

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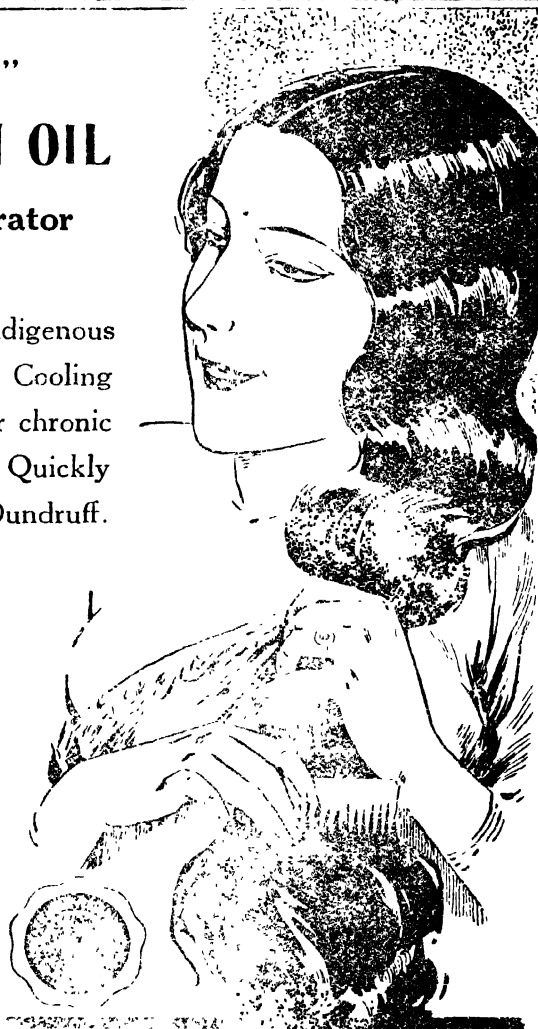
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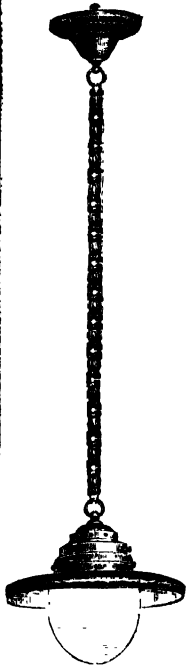
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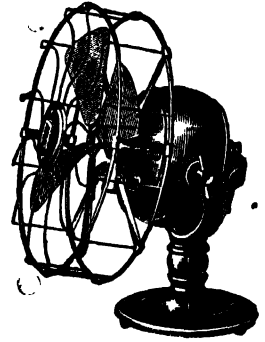
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JANUARY, 1939

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AGRICULTURAL PROPAGANDA AND DEMONSTRATION

PROFESSOR H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.
Calcutta University

THE Agriculture Department has always tried its best to popularise departmental crops and to enlighten the peasantry regarding the value of its recommendations and suggestions. Officers deliver lantern lectures in different districts as well as at many of the cinema shows organised by the Publicity Department. Here they show the utility of the improved crops recommended by the Agriculture Department and attend, as far as practicable, the agricultural exhibitions and fairs held in different parts of the province making it a special point to send exhibits there. Addresses on agriculture through the Indian Broadcasting Station, Calcutta, are also delivered. The results of all these efforts are to be seen in the number of applications for the improved strains of seeds evolved by the Department. Leaflets describing the recommendations of the Agriculture Department on the making of *gur*, cattle breeding, destruction of water hyacinth, on fungoid diseases of betelvine and their treatment have been printed and distributed among those interested in these matters.

Propaganda work, as carried on for the benefit of the cultivator, normally covers practically the whole art of agriculture, its aim being to convince him of the value of certain fundamental improvements made in agricultural methods. The subjects dealt with chiefly are as follows: proper method of tillage, practical demonstration with improved agricultural implements, such as ploughs, hoes, etc., selection

and preservation of seeds, conservation of farmyard manure in covered pits, manufacture of artificial manure with weeds, farm refuse, etc., green manuring, directions for prevention of fungus and destruction of insect pests, care of cattle, making of high class *gur*, the use of recommended varieties of seeds of paddy, jute, linseed, tobacco, pulses, ground nut, etc., the introduction of improved sugarcane, Napier grass and other green fodder.

Besides addresses on these and a variety of kindred subjects, the Demonstrators have to show by actual work that the recommendations made by them are worth following. This is done in the following way. As a rule, Demonstrators are expected to select suitable plots on land belonging to the cultivators, to instruct them how to cultivate departmental crops, to supply the seeds free of cost. After sowing, they have to inspect the different plots, to give instructions as regards the necessary agricultural operations such as weeding, earthing, inter-culture, etc. As soon as the harvest is gathered, it is threshed or retted separately and the products weighed, after which comparison is made with the weight and quality of the local products and thus the superiority of the departmental variety is proved beyond all doubt. The task of persuading the peasant is a long, laborious and an unpleasant one. The work of making him carry out the suggestions offered when there is, according to him, but little pecuniary inducement to do so, and lastly, to overcome the suspicion with which the average cultivator regards every innovation, is no light one. It is because of the exacting nature of the work that the Demonstrators should not be expected to devote their time to any other matter.

A suggestion regarding the policy which might be followed in propaganda of this type is that in each suitable locality, a plot about 10 to 12 bighas in area should be selected and on this demonstration should be carried on for a term of say five years after which it may be given up. A comparatively long period has been recommended so that the cultivator may be convinced that the outturn—whether there is insufficient or excessive rain, and whether in other matters the circumstances are favourable or not—is always higher than with land cultivated according to ancestral methods. Then again, the ordinary cultivator nearly always labours under the impression that the results in Government farms are satisfactory because costly manure is used and the ground levelled, drained and so forth—ideal conditions which he will never be able to attain. It appears therefore that if he sees the

gratifying results of improved agricultural methods carried on under the identical circumstances under which work has been done in his area for generations, he will be induced to carry out the suggestions of the officers of the Agriculture Department quite willingly.

In 1933-34, in the Eastern Circle, there were 35 Demonstrators of whom 20 were employed in the districts of Dacca and Faridpur. In the Western Circle, there was a still smaller number of Demonstrators the result being that the success attained was due to their endeavours supplemented by the whole-hearted support of the owners of various private farms. In the Northern Circle, out of 35 Demonstrators, only 19 were engaged in actual propaganda work, these being scattered in seven districts. The other officers who were not engaged in direct propaganda in the different circles could do a little work on land situated in the neighbourhood of their headquarters. As a matter of fact, their activities in this direction were not calculated to produce tangible effects to any appreciable extent.

In 1934-35, owing to retrenchment, the number of Demonstrators was reduced, the figures being as follows: Eastern Circle 35 Demonstrators of whom only 14 were engaged in propaganda and demonstration, Western Circle 28 about 14 of whom were supposed to cover 11 districts, Northern Circle of whom about 19 were engaged in propaganda and demonstration.

It has to be stated in this connection that the districts of Dacca and Faridpur had the largest number of Demonstrators and, as is only natural, it was found that the most marked progress was achieved in these two districts. In 1933-34, propaganda work in the case of animal husbandry was carried on more intensively in the districts of Rajshahi and Malda in the Northern and in the districts of Hooghly and Nadia in the Western Circle than in other parts of Bengal and here only satisfactory progress was made. This conclusively points to the fact that demonstration and propaganda cannot, by any means, be left to the ordinary officers who have to do more work than they can manage easily.

In 1935-36, besides 10 temporary there were in all 90 Demonstrators on the permanent staff of whom 30 were posted in the Eastern, 28 in the Western and 32 in the Northern Circle. About 50 out of these 90 were engaged in district work. There were also 50 Demonstrators employed for four months for jute restriction work. These conducted propaganda for introduction of *rali* and other substitute crops. Govern-

ment sanctioned Rs 20,000 for the campaign. The Demonstrators of the Agriculture Department were relieved of this special work which had been thrust on them in previous years and could thus pursue their normal activities. The work of propaganda was helped by District Boards, Khas Mahals, Court of Wards Estates, Rural Reconstruction Societies and private landlords who, between them, maintained no less than 70 to 75 Demonstrators. Various sums were also spent by them for introducing agricultural improvements, supplying departmentally improved seeds and cuttings free of charge.

In 1936-37, besides about a dozen temporary men, there were 94 Demonstrators on the permanent staff of whom about 55 were engaged in district work, the rest being attached to one or other of the 24 Government Farms. As in the previous year, 50 temporary Demonstrators were also employed for 4 months for jute restriction propaganda and 4 temporary Demonstrators for cotton propaganda in the districts of Bankura and Midnapur. In addition to maintaining Demonstrators, contributing money to meet the cost of distributing free seeds and cuttings, about 60 small farms, a majority measuring one acre, were started in different parts of Bengal by District Boards and landlords. The last movement was probably due to the step taken by Government for starting Union Board farms.

There is not much doubt that what progress propaganda work has made through the efforts of the officers of the Agriculture Department has been partly due to the loyal support they have received from officers connected with Khas Mahals, Court of Wards Estates, District and Local Boards and Co-operative Banks. It is not perhaps generally known that an amount, not of course large, is always set apart for agricultural improvements in Khas Mahals. In some places, this amount is utilised for supplying departmental seeds free. The Jessore, Contai and Howrah Khas Mahals are each maintaining small demonstration farms whence free seeds, cuttings, etc., are distributed. Similarly, larger Court of Wards Estates as those of Bhawal in Dacca district, of Majidpur in Tippera district, of Banjitia in Murshidabad district, of Junglepara in Hooghly district, and Mahisadal in Midnapur district are maintaining farms which are managed under the supervision of Demonstrators recommended by the Agriculture Department. These are utilised for multiplication of departmental seeds, cuttings, etc., and are useful centres for propaganda. Then again, Co-operative Banks too are doing their part. The Raipura Central

Co-operative Bank (Dacca), the Jamalpur, Madanganj and Sarishabari Banks (Mymensingh), the Feni Co-operative Bank (Noakhali) and similar other concerns have purchased and distributed to their members about 3½ lakh cuttings of C. O. 213. Full credit should also be given to the public-spirited members of certain District Boards such as Nadia, Howrah, Hooghly, Jessore, Birbhum and Bankura in West Bengal and of Noakhali and Mymensingh in East Bengal, who have assisted the Agriculture Department in various ways. The funds of these self-governing bodies practically consist of the cess realised from the agriculturists which money should, as far as possible, be spent for their benefit. They ought to be congratulated for the recognition and practical application of this principle. After all, money spent on agricultural improvements such as introduction of improved seeds, of cheap labour-saving agricultural implements, of artificial manures, etc., should be regarded as an investment tending to the economic prosperity of the district and the province.

The latest development in propaganda work consists of the establishment of Union Board farms. It was in 1936-37 that the first Government of India grant for rural uplift was received and the following schemes for the purpose put into operation. These were (1) establishment of farms in 450 Union Boards, (2) improvement of cattle and fodder crops and (3) improvement of poultry. Some reference has already been made to the working of the last two schemes. So far as the first scheme is concerned, the preliminaries started in 1935-36 consisted of selecting 450 Union Boards in 25 districts of Bengal. Some difficulty was experienced at the beginning in certain parts of this province in inducing the owners to allow their land to be used as Union Board farms. As many of them are uneducated and on account of oppression and exploitation suspicious of both Government officials and the *bhadralok*, they at first thought this a new trick to deprive them of their land. Still another difficulty was to secure compact plots of land 8 acres in area. The writer's information is that these difficulties were at last overcome partly by persuasion and partly by pressure by the end of 1935-36. Each such 8-acre farm generally contains both high and low land and serves as both a seed and a demonstration farm. In each, 5 acres are devoted to the multiplication of paddy seeds and 3 acres for demonstration purposes. In the latter, *khurif* and *rabi* crops suitable for the area in which the farm is situated were cultivated. In a majority of cases, crops new to the locality such as linseed, tobacco,

groundnut, gram, potato, English vegetables and Napier grass were introduced. In many cases, part of the area was double cropped, *aus* and jute being followed by *rabi* crops. The seeds used were all departmentally improved varieties. Six such farms were supervised by one Demonstrator. Generally, all these were within a radius of 5 miles from headquarters. Seeds, cuttings and limited amounts of manures and fertilisers were supplied free from Government grant.

As the result of one year's working, the kind of useful work done by these Union Board farms may be summarised as follows. Propaganda aimed at the introduction of recommended varieties of crops and improved agricultural methods has been carried out in isolated areas in practically all parts of this province. In many places, the agriculturist has enjoyed the unique opportunity of seeing with his own eyes the pecuniary benefits accruing from the cultivation of substitute economic crops. Indirectly, part of the responsibility for the multiplication of improved paddy seeds and cuttings of sugarcane, Napier grass, etc., has been thrown on the cultivators themselves. Peasants living in places close to these farms have not only seen the demonstrations but improved seeds and cuttings have been placed within their reach. Those desirous of following the departmental methods can now obtain these improved seeds and cuttings without much difficulty and, in this way, their rapid distribution has been greatly stimulated. Much is expected from this automatic expansion. It is also hoped that the increase in the amount of improved seeds grown in these farms will have the effect of lowering their price so as to bring them within the reach of the poorest cultivator. The necessity of using manures and fertilisers suitable to the crop on the ground has been taught to them. This should have the effect of popularising their use. Again, the introduction of crops like English vegetables has had the two-fold effect of increasing the cash income as well as of adding variety to the diet of the ordinary cultivator. The writer who paid a flying visit to Rungpur in March, 1937, had an opportunity of seeing among other things the exhibits of vegetables sent in by the Union Board farms to the local Exhibition which was being held at that time in the district headquarters. It was a delightful surprise for him to see the varieties of English and country vegetables and their high quality. He was informed that the growing of high class vegetables specially English vegetables has been greatly stimulated by these Union Board farms.

Much has been said about the economic aspect of this scheme. We have to remember that these farms are not to be judged from this point of view only. As paddy seed farms, provided all the paddy is really used as seed, and also as centres of demonstration for new crops, the utility of the Union Board farms is not to be judged by the immediate profit in cash achieved by each of them. In a sense, they are more or less laboratories where practical agriculture is sought to be taught to the masses and hence cannot be expected to be profitable institutions. It is enough if the actual cultivators learn their lessons at these places and then apply them in their own fields. Then again, with the prevailing depression in the prices of agricultural produce and with the chain of middlemen between the producer and the ultimate consumer coupled with the absence of any marketing facilities on the co-operative basis, it is enough if, for the present, the peasant can make enough to pay rent and to maintain himself just above the starvation level.

It is to be hoped that these Union Board farms, which, even the most adverse critics cannot deny, have already done some good work in certain directions, should continue to be maintained for some time to come. The cultivators living near these 450 centres have seen the beneficial results of following departmental recommendations. But on account of want of education and, let it be added, of a sufficient modicum of intelligence, these lessons have to be driven home, the way of doing which is to give them an opportunity of seeing the improvement in both the quantity and quality of produce in these model farms for not less than five to six years. It has already been stated that only 450 Union Boards have been provided with these combined seed multiplication and demonstration farms. Unless Government wishes to be accused of unfairness, it will have either to change the locality of these farms from year to year which, the writer holds, will, not only greatly detract from their utility but also throw very heavy work on an already inadequate subordinate staff, a matter to which reference is made hereafter, or, in the alternative, to start similar farms in other Union Boards. If the latter proposal is accepted, Government might offer to meet part of the cost incurred by the free supply of seeds, cuttings, manure and fertilisers. Public co-operation, if solicited in the right manner, ought to be obtainable. It has already been stated how, within the last two years, various local bodies as well as landlords have started nearly 60 small farms which, the writer understands, are modelled as these Union Board farms.

It only remains to induce the public to start these in places not served by the Union Board farms as well as to point out that they should not be less than 8 acres in area in which case their utility would be greatly circumscribed. In the case of a majority of the Union Board farms, Government has the supervision done by its own agents in the shape of agricultural demonstrators each of whom is in charge of six of these farms. It would be too much to expect that in case similar farms are started by the people themselves, they should be expected to meet the salary of the supervisors. It therefore seems only natural that the entire cost of supervision should be met out of the funds allotted for this purpose to the Agriculture Department of Government.

In connection with this scheme in actual operation we have to face one unpleasant fact. In 1936-37, not less than 2,100 acres were under paddy and the primary intention was that the improved paddy seeds produced in them which, according to the latest available report, was approximately 36,000 maunds, would be used for sowing purposes only. This amount would have been sufficient for 48,000 acres. What was actually found at the time of sowing was that only 9,000 maunds or 25 per cent of paddy seeds were available, the balance amounting to 27,000 maunds having been used in other ways. There is no record as to how much had been consumed and how much exchanged with local paddy growers as seeds. This failure to make proper use of the imperial grant for the popularisation and distribution of departmentally improved seeds is lamentable indeed. Recognising and allowing as we must for the improvidence and the poverty of the ordinary cultivator, we must say that this waste could never have taken place if proper and close supervision had been exercised by the Demonstrators.

The writer, however, does not hold that the unsatisfactory supervision which led to this waste of valuable material was caused by wilful negligence or laziness on the part of the agricultural Demonstrators. It is quite possible that in certain cases, these reasons were responsible for the regrettable state of affairs to which reference has just been made. We should not, however, forget that under the Union Board farm scheme, the work of supervising them was added on to the normal work of the Demonstrators. In fact, these people have all along played the part of maids of all work to the Agriculture Department. In the past, when the Jute Restriction propaganda

was started, these agricultural Demonstrators were entrusted with this task. It was only at a later stage, when the importance of this work was realised and when perhaps it was felt as the result of actual experience that separate staff was really necessary, that new staff was entertained for this purpose. The Deputy Directors of Agriculture, of both the Northern and the Western Circle, pointed out, in their reports for 1936-37, that the staff of Demonstrators is inadequate even for carrying on the normal work and that whatever success has been achieved in the Union Board farms scheme within their jurisdiction is exclusively due to their whole-hearted devotion to duty and the cheerful way in which they took up the additional burden placed on them. In the Eastern Circle, many Union Board farms could not be supervised by the departmental agricultural Demonstrators. These had therefore to be placed in charge of Demonstrators maintained by Khas Mahals, District Boards and Rural Reconstruction Committees. The fact that the authorities were compelled to deviate from the original scheme under which the work of supervision was to have been entrusted to the permanent Demonstrators of the Agriculture Department and had to rely on outside help proves beyond the slightest shadow of doubt that the staff maintained at present is inadequate. Support is lent to this view by the fact that even before the Union Board farms scheme was thought of, the Director of Agriculture, Bengal, in his report for the year 1935-36, observed that his Department was "severely handicapped by the lack of staff in districts."

It has to be remembered that the value of the work done by the Agriculture Department will ultimately have to be judged by its practical utility to the actual cultivator. An expensive staff has been maintained for years and no one denies the value of the work done by it. But information about improved seeds, agricultural implements and methods will have to be conveyed to our agriculturists, nearly all of whom are not only illiterate but also very conservative in their outlook. It is therefore absolutely necessary that efficient arrangements should be made to bridge the gap between the research worker and the cultivator. This humble but very important work is being done by the Agricultural Demonstrators. Without their co-operation, the results obtained from the different experiments conducted by the higher staff will possess nothing but an academic value. The first thing necessary therefore for putting the agriculturist in touch with

this valuable material is to provide the whole province with properly trained and enthusiastic Demonstrators who will do the work in the spirit of national service. Their number must be increased till every part of Bengal is covered thoroughly. The ninety odd Demonstrators we are maintaining now is so pitifully small as to excite neither laughter nor contempt but regret at the failure of Government to recognise the importance of this elementary factor in the agricultural regeneration of this province. With an overwhelmingly agricultural population of more than ten million cultivators, the number of cultivators per Demonstrator works out at about 1 lakh 11 thousand. With about 24 million acres under crops, the number of acres per Demonstrator works out at about 27,000. Then again, according to the final budget estimates for 1938-39, out of a sum of 16½ lakhs proposed to be spent on the Agriculture Department, about Rs. 30,000 only represented the salary of the Demonstrators.

Looked at from this point of view, the amount spent on demonstration and propaganda from Government funds is ridiculously low, specially when we remember that nearly 90 per cent of the population of Bengal is supported either directly or indirectly by agriculture. It therefore appears to the writer that one of the first steps which should be taken to improve the condition of the agriculturist is to increase the number of Demonstrators. Further, all of them should be appointed on a permanent basis, of course, after a period of probation. To employ such men for a few months in the year may be good economy but there is not the slightest doubt that it is bad policy. Constituted as we are, we can never put in our best work when we know that our responsibility ends after a short time. Another fact which is militating against the usefulness of agricultural propaganda as carried on now is that all permanent Demonstrators have to confine their work within a radius of five miles from their headquarters. It is admitted that it is quite possible to find sufficient scope for activity within this area. At the same time, the higher supervising staff ought to be given discretionary powers to enlarge, as well as to modify in all ways, the area put in charge of Demonstrators. In order that they may be in a position to move about freely within this enlarged or modified area, funds ought to be provided to meet their travelling expenses. This will be necessary till Government is in a position to employ a sufficient number of Demonstrators to equip the whole province thoroughly.

THE INDIAN CONCEPTION OF PHILOSOPHY ¹

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ONE of the distinguishing features of Indian philosophy is its moral and spiritual outlook. For all the systems of Indian philosophy, excepting the Cārvāka, the world including physical nature is a moral stage for the education and emancipation of individual selves. The system of reality is not completed by the spatio-temporal world of physical nature. Behind this visible world of phenomena there lies a transcendent world of reality, an invisible and eternal spiritual order. For common sense and the sciences, and also for some systems of philosophy, the world may be a play of physical things and beings which for some time interact with one another in time and space, according to blind mechanical laws, and then disappear from the arena of the world, leaving no track behind. But for the Indian thinkers, with the solitary exception of the Cārvāka materialists, individual beings are enduring selves which are distinct from all physical objects and have a life-history of their own extending backward into the past and forward into the future. What ultimately governs the ordinary lives of these selves as well as the operations of nature is the moral law of *karma*, according to which every individual being enjoys or suffers in this life because of his own good or bad deeds in the past or the present. All that we get in this life—our body and mind, our social and economic position, our moral and religious character—are just what we have earned and deserved by the actions of our previous life. The ultimate cause of the sufferings of our life is ignorance of the truth about ourselves and the world in which we live. Liberation in the sense of freedom from suffering is to be attained through right knowledge of reality, *i.e.* self and the world (*tattvajñāna*). But this saving knowledge is not merely an intellectual understanding of the truth, nor a matter of blind faith and unsteady belief. It is a direct knowledge or clear realization of the truth. For almost all the Indian thinkers, philosophy is the direct experience or vision of the truth (*darśana*). They agree also in holding

¹ Presidential Address at the Fourteenth Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress, Section of Indian Philosophy, Allahabad, 1938.

that the method of realizing philosophic truth is rational study and devout contemplation of it (*sādhana*). The truths of philosophy are not and cannot be known by mere reasoning. If these are to be known and properly understood, one must go through some amount of spiritual training technically called *yoga* or *sādhana*.

The conception of philosophy as direct experience of the self or reality, which is to be attained through contemplation, is found in all the orthodox schools as well as the Bauddha and the Jaina system of Indian philosophy. That there is a transcendent world or an eternal moral order, and that the individual self's emancipation lies in the realization of the true nature of the self and the world, is a doctrine common to the Bauddha and the Jaina system. Although the conception of self and reality is different in the two systems, yet they agree in holding that the self has a life beyond the present and that its liberation lies through a strenuous life of moral disciplines. Both the systems hold that philosophic insight into the truth requires self-control and self-purification, meditation and concentration. The Yogācāra school of Bauddha philosophy owes its name to the emphasis it laid on the practice of *yoga* as a necessary means of attaining the absolute truth. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system is a realistic philosophy which combines pluralism with theism. The atomic theory of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika does not ignore the moral and spiritual principles governing the world as a whole. On the other hand, it looks upon the world as a moral order in which individual souls have to realize their destiny through right knowledge of reality. In the Sāṅkhya-Yoga system we have a philosophy of dualistic realism which bears a clearer and deeper impress of spiritualism than the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. These systems are, like the Bauddha and the Jaina, rationalistic in the sense that they have given full play to man's power of thinking and reasoning in the province of philosophy. But they make it perfectly plain that the absolute truth of philosophy is attainable only by those who supplement reasoning by a course of moral training and constant contemplation of the self as a transcendent reality. The necessity of meditation and concentration in philosophy led to the development of an elaborate technique, fully explained in the Yoga system. The Mīmāṃsā and the Vedānta are pro-Vedic systems in the sense that they arise directly out of the Vedas and may be regarded as the direct continuation of Vedic culture. In the Mīmāṃsā we have a realistic philosophy of life which justifies the ritualistic side of the Vedas. In the Vedānta

one finds a sublime idealism based on the speculative side of the Vedic culture. Although based on the authority of the Vedas, regarded as infallible, these systems are not less critical and rationalistic than any other system of Indian or Western philosophy. While starting from the authority of the Vedas, they support their theories by such strong independent arguments that, even if the support of Vedic authority be withdrawn, it is by no means an easy task to confute or controvert them. Both of these systems are spiritualistic in their outlook in so far as they view this world as the manifestation of an eternal, infinite reality which transcends the physical world of spatio-temporal reality. For both, liberation from bondage to the flesh is the highest good of the individual self and it comes through a life of purificatory works, rational study and constant contemplation. There is no doubt some difference in the distribution of emphasis on these means of liberation in the two systems. While the Mīmāṃsā lays great emphasis on the disinterested performance of obligatory duties, the Vedānta stresses more the need of rational knowledge and direct experience of the self or Brahman through constant meditation. So we see that the Indian systems of philosophy, barring the Cārvāka, agree in holding that philosophy is the direct knowledge of absolute truth, which is to be attained through a life of rational study, moral purity and devout contemplation.

There are philosophers, both Indian and Western, who opine that Indian philosophy has been stunted and reduced to a non-rationalistic dogmatic system by its reliance on religious authority and consequent moral and spiritual outlook. In his article in *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*,¹ Dr. S. N. Dasgupta subscribes to this view when he says: "Indian philosophy, in spite of its magnificent outlook, thoroughness of logical dialectic, its high appreciation of moral and religious values, is closed all round by four walls of unproved dogmas: (1) the dogma of the infallibility of the Vedic wisdom, (2) the dogma of emancipation and bondage, (3) the dogma of the law of Karma, (4) the dogma of rebirth. Of these, the first is the primary dogma which is associated with the corollary that reason is unable to discover the truth—a creed which is almost suicidal to any philosophy in the modern sense of the term." 'The assumption of the unconditioned,' he remarks, 'made it difficult to explain change or the return from the change to the changelessness, and that a more rational explanation might have been effected, if the dogma of

¹ *Vide Contemporary Indian Philosophy*, pp. 177-80.

emancipation had not fettered the systems in this way.' Proceeding further, he says that extraneous assumptions of the kind mentioned here "are bound to hamper the progress of philosophical speculation and blur the philosophical outlook." There seems to be no consistency between these statements and others made by Dr. Dasgupta in other places of his writings here and elsewhere. I need not dwell on this just now, for that would be out of place here. But I must say that what he stigmatizes as the dogmas and assumptions of Indian philosophy have not been really left like these by the ancient Indian thinkers. These have been supported by the ancient sages by certain strong independent arguments, and may, I beg to submit, be even now supported by us in this modern age of critical speculation. In this paper, however I would like to concentrate on the Indian conception of philosophy, for an examination of all the fundamental doctrines of Indian philosophy will require a voluminous treatise.¹

Analysing the Indian conception of philosophy we get the following points: (i) Philosophy is the knowledge of reality as distinguished from appearances, (ii) this knowledge is not a matter of intellectual understanding, but a direct experience or vision of absolute truth, (iii) it requires indeed the help of a rational study of all experiences, but cannot be completed by mere reasoning, (iv) it is to be attained through a life of moral purification and constant contemplation. Let us now examine these points and consider if they vitiate the Indian conception of philosophy and render it infructuous. For this I propose to discuss some important Western conceptions of philosophy. This will help us to find out the respective merits and defects of the Indian and the Western concept of philosophy, and finally to accept the one and reject the other.

One of the widely current conceptions of philosophy in the West is that it is 'the synthesis of the sciences.' Philosophy is the universal science which interprets and unites the results of the special sciences into a consistent system. "Science," Spencer observes, "is partially unified knowledge, philosophy completely unified knowledge; the generalizations of philosophy comprehend and consolidate the widest generalizations of science; philosophy is knowledge of the highest degree of generality." It is here held that the task of philosophy is to

¹ For a justification of the so-called dogmas of Indian philosophy the reader may be referred to *An Introduction to Indian Philosophy* by S. C. Chatterjee and D. M. Dutta (Calcutta University Press).

put together the results of the special sciences into a consistent world-view.

This same conception of philosophy reappears in a different form in the modern schools of realism. The modern realist's pet aversion to an absolutely systematic philosophy of the world as a whole, prevents him from accepting the old view of philosophy as the systematization of all the sciences. For him, philosophy is the 'logical study of the foundations of the sciences.' Impressed with the importance of modern mathematical logic for clear and precise thinking, and dissatisfied with the comparatively uncertain and hypothetical character of the great philosophical systems of the past, modern realists content themselves in their philosophy with the formulation of the structural concepts of science by the method of logical analysis. What philosophy needs is, therefore, the sciences as its data, and formal logic as its canon. As some American neo-realists tell us, 'philosophy is distinguished from the sciences by the breadth of its generalization, the refinement of its criticism, and the ultimate character of its special problems. But, even so, the task of philosophy is not *radically* different from that of the special sciences. It lies on the same plane, or in the same field. It is a difference of degree and not of kind ; a difference like that between experimental and theoretical physics, between zoology and biology.' ¹ So also Bertrand Russell observes: 'Philosophical knowledge does not differ essentially from scientific knowledge ; and the results obtained by philosophy are not radically different from those obtained from science. The essential characteristic of philosophy, which makes it a study distinct from science, is *criticism*. It examines critically the principles employed in science.' ² The critical method of philosophy is latterly explained by Russell as the logical-analytic method and is considered by him as adequate, in all branches of philosophy, to yield whatever objective scientific knowledge it is possible to obtain.³

Professor Alexander,⁴ another renowned British neo-realist, voices the same opinion with regard to the nature of philosophy, although it be in a faltering tone and in uncertain words. He says: "Philosophy, by which I mean metaphysics, differs from the special sciences, not so much in its method as in the nature of the subjects with which it deals." It is an attempt to study such very comprehensive topics as the

¹ *The New Realism*, p. 42.

² *The Problems of Philosophy*, p. 239.

³ *Our Knowledge of the External World*, p. v.

⁴ *Space, Time and Deity*, Vol. I, Introduction.

ultimate nature of existence if it has any, and the ultimate categories of experience like space, time and causality, substance and quantity, the individual and the universal. Philosophy does but carry the scientific enterprise to bring system and connection into the haphazard facts of experience to its furthest limits, and its spirit is one with the spirit of science. The method of philosophy is, like that of the sciences, empirical. It will proceed like them by reflective description and analysis of its special subject matter and bring its data into verifiable connection. The subject matter of philosophy is, in a special sense, non-empirical, while that of the sciences is empirical. But the distinction between the empirical and the non-empirical is only a distinction between the variable and the pervasive characters of experienced things.

With regard to the above conception of philosophy, what would strike one first is that it is a bold attempt to reduce philosophy to science or, at least, to make it fall into line with the sciences. It tries to show how philosophy is the same as science in its spirit, its method, and also its problems, with a certain qualification indeed. As Prof. Alexander puts it, "philosophy is thus itself one of the sciences, delimited from the others by its special subject-matter." Following the lead of these Western philosophers, many Indian thinkers are prepared to renounce the Indian conception of philosophy and accept the view that philosophy is a universal science. 'Philosophy,' says Dr. Dasgupta, 'is a growing science; the method of philosophy is that of science; a philosophy like that of the Vedānta, which merely occupies itself with dealing with one or a few special kinds of experience, does not deserve the name of philosophy in our sense of the word.'¹ But it is one of my growing convictions that the conception of philosophy as a science does justice neither to science nor to philosophy, and is eventually found to be indefensible. Let us see how.

The first formulation of this conception of philosophy as 'the synthesis of the sciences' is as ambitious as it is monstrous. A synthesis of all the sciences—past, present and future—is an impossible task for any man of the world. For, even if it be possible for a man to acquaint himself with the entire body of present scientific knowledge, it does not lie in him to know the sciences that are yet to be formulated by posterity. Supposing that a synthesis of all sciences can be effected, it will have none of the characters of universality and necessity that

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 187-89.

pertain to philosophy, or ought to belong to a universal science. The truths of science and the laws of nature discovered by scientists are subject to change and modification from time to time. So long as no finality regarding the results of the special sciences can be attained, the prospect of a universal science must remain as gloomy as ever. Further, a world-view resulting from a synthesis of the sciences is neither scientific nor philosophic knowledge. It is not a scientific view because it cannot be theoretically demonstrated like other scientific truths. And it is not philosophical knowledge inasmuch as it can claim no more necessity and universality than the sciences themselves possess.

The neo-realist formulation of the conception of philosophy as the logical analysis of the ultimate concepts of science is somewhat corrective of the previous one. It gives up the hopeless attempt to synthesise the sciences into an absolutely coherent system. Still, it is no more acceptable to us than the first formulation of it. It makes a confusion between science and philosophy. If philosophy be but a logical analysis of scientific knowledge, we do not see how a real distinction between them can be maintained. Science is a study of empirical facts, and it makes as much use of the method of logical analysis as any other study. If it can thus study the facts of experience and formulate their less general laws and concepts, there is no reason why it should not be allowed to formulate the most comprehensive and fundamental ones, provided they are genuinely scientific. Or, if a philosophy is necessary to study the ultimate concepts of science, why not allow the same philosophy to study and discover its less ultimate laws and concepts, and have it done with science altogether? As a matter of fact, however, many of the so-called scientific concepts revealed by the neo-realist's method of logical analysis are not genuine scientific concepts at all. The whole world of subsistent entities, containing not only universals and logical propositions, but also the false and the unreal which contradict the spatio-temporal system, is, as the neo-realist himself admits, a world of Platonic ideas, independent of all experience by mind. None of the special sciences with its insistence on empirical verification can embrace these concepts as its proper objects. So, too, the 'neutral entities' which some neo-realists consider to be the ultimate stuff of both the physical and mental worlds, are far removed from empirical facts which constitute the proper subject matter of science. In the absence of some neutral experience which

transcends alike the objective and subjective levels of experience, the neo-realist's world of 'neutral entities' should be treated as an object of philosophical faith which has nothing of the character of scientific truth about it. If there is any such experience in us, then we may be said to have a knowledge of the ultimate reality as really neutral, *i.e.* neither material nor mental, neither one nor many. But even then we cannot speak of it as scientific knowledge in any legitimate sense, since it would transcend all sense-experience to which science is limited.

Prof. Alexander's definition of philosophy appears to be a travesty of the above conception in more than one way. He makes a futile attempt to reconcile two apparently incompatible concepts of philosophy. By philosophy he means *metaphysics* and yet maintains that it is one of the *sciences* delimited from the others by its special subject matter. Within the subject matter of philosophy he includes the pervasive characters of *experienced* things, which he calls *non-empirical*, as distinguished from their variable characters, which are said to be empirical. But if these two kinds of characters are 'in experienced things,' there is no reason why science should be incompetent to deal with them both. Some sciences are more comprehensive than others and, as Prof. Alexander himself says, "the more comprehensive a science becomes the closer it comes to philosophy." So it will not be unreasonable for us to think that the most comprehensive science should be able to study the pervasive characters of the world of experience, leaving nothing more for philosophy and philosophers to think and study. But there is another aspect of Prof. Alexander's conception of philosophy, which seems to be in the right direction. This is expressed by him with some misgiving when he says that 'metaphysics is an attempt to describe the *ultimate nature of existence* if it has any, or is the science of *being as such* and its essential attributes.' These stand for what is really non-empirical or metaphysical reality which, though not certainly given in sense perception, must be apprehended in some form of experience which may be called spiritual experience or, following Prof. Alexander, 'an enjoying consciousness of the self itself.' This is clearly seen in the case of his deity which is a non-empirical reality in so far as it is no part or aspect of the actual world of sense-experience. How do we know anything about God or deity? Prof. Alexander says: "However immediately we may be aware of God in the religious

sentiment, in philosophy there is no short road to deity." ¹ Since, however, he takes it "as self-evident that whatever we know is apprehended in some form of experience," we are to say that deity as a non-empirical reality is apprehended through religious experience even in the sphere of philosophy. It would thus appear from the foregoing discussion that if philosophy is to be a body of knowledge distinct from science, it must be a study of non-empirical or metaphysical reality directly apprehended in the form of religious or spiritual experience.

Another conception of philosophy which we find in Kant, who is undoubtedly the greatest critical philosopher of the West, is that it is a metaphysic of experience. Philosophy, according to Kant, should not be speculative metaphysic which indulges in futile theories about ultimate realities like God and the self. If philosophy will only cease from the pursuit of such ultimate and unknowable realities and limit itself to the world of experience, then we will have metaphysics as an exact science. Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* is such a philosophy which professes to give us certain and *a priori* knowledge of the world of experience, but strictly limits the human reason to this world and closes the possibility of its going beyond. Kant's argument is briefly this. We can have *a priori* (i.e. universal and necessary) knowledge of things only so far as what we know about them is determined by the nature of our powers of knowing, namely, intuition and understanding. From this it follows that our *a priori* knowledge is knowledge of things, not as they are in themselves, but as they appear to our minds. What things are in themselves we cannot possibly know, for we have no means of having a pure intellectual intuition of them, the only intuition of which we are capable being sensuous. The reason in us is, of course, under the necessity of *thinking* of things-in-themselves or of noumenal realities. But it gets involved in hopeless contradictions when it tries to have a *knowledge* of noumena by the application of our human categories. In the absence of any intellectual intuition, noumenal realities like God and the self must be treated as objects only of moral faith. Since, however, reason is incompetent to deal with their objects, morality and religion may be allowed, so thinks Kant, to live safely in the realm of faith.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

Although Kant's philosophy is almost unparalleled in history as a type of critical thinking, yet it appears to me to be another instance of the confusion between philosophy and science. So far as the world of appearances or empirical objects is concerned, it is science and science alone that should be entrusted with the task of a systematic study of its facts, the discovery of its laws and the formulation of its ultimate concepts. What Kant actually did in his *Critique* was just a deduction of the postulates or fundamental concepts of science from the *a priori* principles of synthetic knowledge. So Kant's philosophy is at its best a transcendental logic of the sciences. It may be called metaphysic, but a metaphysic like this is indistinguishable from science or a logic of the sciences. The negative side of the Kantian metaphysics is, however, more in the direction of a right conception of philosophy. Here Kant shows how the self as a noumenal reality is a necessity of thought, although it cannot be known as an object of thought. He is perfectly right when he says that the self is not an object of thought, for "the object which we think through the categories must be given as a manifold of (sense) intuition and combined by the transcendental synthesis of imagination in one time and space."¹ The self, being the transcendent subject of experience, cannot be thought in this way. Yet we must admit the possibility of knowing the self somehow independently of thinking. Kant repeatedly tells us that the self is the synthetic unity of apperception presupposed in all experience of objects. But how do we know any self at all as the ground of our experiences of objects, unless we directly *see* them grounded in the self? But for a direct experience of the self as the experiencing subject, the thought or idea of the self would not have at all arisen in our mind. It is really because we have no experience excepting what is found to be in the self, that we think of it as the *necessary* synthetic unity of experiences. If, therefore, we have no sensuous intuition of the noumenal self, we must admit a non-sensuous or intellectual intuition of it. That there may be knowledge which depends, not on sensuous, but on intellectual intuition, is admitted by Kant as both conceivable and logically possible. Prof. Paton goes so far as to say that "it does not appear that Kant *argued* from the existence of the given to the reality of things-in-themselves as its necessary cause.

¹ Cf. H. J. Paton, *Kant's Metaphysic of Experience*, Vol. II, p. 448. The account of Kant's philosophy given here is based on this book.

Rather he would seem to regard the thing-in-itself as *immediately present* to us in all appearances." ¹ If philosophy is to be distinguished from science or a logic of the sciences, it must, I venture to think, be primarily a study of noumenal reality based on some kind of immediate and non-sensuous (*i.e.* spiritual) experience of it.

The conception of philosophy I have been trying to defend so far, has been rudely shaken by the ' Viennese circle ' of philosophers who are commonly known as logical positivists. According to them, philosophy as metaphysics or the study of transcendent reality is a huge nonsense. Following the lead of David Hume, the logical positivist divides all genuine propositions into two classes—those which concern ' relations of ideas ' and are, like the *a priori* propositions of logic and mathematics, necessary because they are analytic and tautologous ; and those which concern ' matters of fact ' and are, like the truths of science, empirical hypotheses which can be probable but never certain. For an empirical hypothesis to be genuine or significant, means to be, in principle, verifiable in sense-experience. Since the so-called metaphysical propositions about transcendent realities like God or the immortal self, are neither tautologies nor empirically verifiable, they are nonsensical. Kant also denied all *knowledge* of the transcendent world of things-in-themselves, but he believed in it on moral grounds and admitted the possibility of an intellectual intuition of it. The logical positivists are ultra-critical and condemn metaphysical knowledge as not only unattainable by the human understanding but as senseless. They also go beyond the neo-realists who take philosophy as the logical analysis of the fundamental concepts of science and believe in many ' neutral particulars ' as the ultimate stuff of reality, in which logical analysis terminates. According to the logical positivist, philosophy is concerned neither with metaphysical propositions nor with the discovery of the speculative truths and ultimate concepts of science. The function of philosophy is ' to clarify the propositions of science by exhibiting their logical relationships, and by defining the symbols which occur in them.' Philosophy is the logic of science, not in the sense that it formulates the basic concepts and speculative truths or hypotheses of science, but in that it defines the symbols occurring in scientific hypotheses, and exhibits their logical relationships.²

¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 70.

² The account of Logical Positivism given here is based on Mr. A. J. Ayer's *Language, Truth and Logic*.

I shall make no attempt to enter on a detailed examination of logical positivism.¹ That is here neither necessary nor possible. What I am directly concerned with is the positivist's condemnation of all metaphysics as nonsensical. When the positivist says that propositions concerning empirical matters of fact must be verifiable in some possible sense-experience, we have no ground of quarrel with him. It is almost a truism to say that an empirical fact must be somehow open to sense-perception. We may go further and say that all objects or reals, be they empirical or non-empirical, must be given in some experience, sensuous or non-sensuous. It is because Kant could not be sure of 'intellectual intuition' as a possible form of human experience that he had to leave the reality of God, freedom and immortality on the insecure basis of the incompetence of theoretical reason in such matters. But for the logical positivist, all matters must be empirical matters of fact, and all verification must be in terms of sense-experience. It is true that a logical positivist like Mr. A. J. Ayer admits that 'one cannot overthrow a system of transcendent metaphysics merely by criticising the way in which it comes into being. For, the metaphysician may claim to be endowed with a faculty of intellectual intuition which enabled him to know facts that could not be known through sense-experience.' But when he asserts that metaphysical statements have no sense because they cannot be verified in sense-experience, he virtually denies the possibility of intellectual intuition and the reality of facts which cannot be known through sense-experience. We also may admit that what are known as *facts* are objects of sense-experience and that such objects are really matters of fact. In this sense metaphysical realities are not matters of fact because they transcend the limits of all possible sense-experience. But then we have to ask two questions: (i) Are there other forms of experience than that of sense-perception, and (ii) are there other matters than matters of fact? It will be seen that the two questions are inter-related, in so far as non-sensuous experience gives us no facts and a real that is not a fact must be given through non-sensuous experience.

With regard to the first question, it will be admitted by all but the crude materialist that we have certain experiences which are

¹ For this I may refer to the following: W. T. Stace, art. "Metaphysics and Meaning," *Mind*, Oct., 1935; D. M. Dutta, Presidential Address, "The Revolt against Metaphysics," Indian Phil. Congress (Sec. of Indian Phil.), 1936; M. Lazerowitz, art. "The Principle of Verifiability"; A. C. Ewing, art. "Meaninglessness," *Mind*, July, 1937; C. D. Hardie, art. "Logical Positivism and Scientific Theory," *Mind*, April, 1938; H. Ruja, art. "The Logic of Logical Positivism," *Journal of Philosophy*, July 16, 1936.

intrinsically different from sense-perception. Our moral, aesthetic and religious experiences are anything but sense-experiences of given facts. Value judgments are not existential propositions which relate to facts. They are the expressions of our feelings of appreciation of the values which facts possess for us, the values themselves being no facts. All this is also admitted by the logical positivist when he holds that our moral or aesthetic or religious experience does not relate to matters of fact, but is only a kind of feeling or emotion or sentiment. What is the status of these feelings and sentiments? Obviously, they are not sense-experiences, because they do not relate to any fact, to which all sense-experience, according to the positivist, does relate. They may not be, as the positivist contends, cognitive experiences. None the less, they are experiences. So we have to admit that there are certain forms of non-sensuous experience. What are the objects of these experiences? We answer negatively that their objects are not matters of fact given in sense-experience. This leads us to the second question: Can there be matters which are not matters of fact? That there are such matters is implied in the logical positivist's account of sense-contents. 'Sense-contents,' we are told, 'are neither mental nor physical; the distinction between what is mental and what is physical does not apply to sense-contents; it applies only to objects which are logical constructions out of them.'¹ Now the question is: How are such sense-contents known by us? They may not, as the positivist warns us, be material things or even minds, and it may be advisable to speak of their 'occurrence' in preference to speaking of their 'existence.' But if sense-contents are neither mental nor physical, we have no means of verifying or knowing them. They cannot be known introspectively, for that would make them 'one's own mental states.' Nor can they be externally perceived, since that would reduce them to physical facts. So they seem to be non-empirical matters (or 'occurrences') which are either nonsensical or given through non-sensuous experience.

The necessity of admitting a transcendent reality becomes all the more apparent in the case of the self. According to the logical positivist, the self is 'a logical construction out of the sense-experiences which constitute the actual and possible sense-history of a self; for

¹ Vide Ayer, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

two sense-experiences to belong to the same self, means to contain organic sense-contents which are elements of the same body ; all that is involved in self-consciousness is the ability of a self to remember some of its earlier states, and to remember is to have some sense-experiences which contain memory images that correspond to sense-contents which have previously occurred in the sense-history of the individual.' Thus the positivist 'defines personal identity in terms of bodily identity,' and holds that 'bodily identity is to be defined in terms of the resemblance and continuity of sense-contents.' 'This procedure,' he thinks, 'is justified by the fact that whereas it is permissible, in our language, to speak of a man as surviving a complete loss of memory, or a complete change of character, it is self-contradictory to speak of a man as surviving the annihilation of his body.'¹ This analysis of the self appears to me to be the strongest evidence of failure of the logic of logical positivism. If the self be a logical construction, we must explain how or by whom this construction is made. Sense-contents cannot by themselves effect it, because they are neither material things nor conscious beings endowed with the causal efficacy and logical brain that are necessary to make logical constructions. Nor can we understand how the sense of personal identity can be explained by bodily identity. It requires no reasoning to convince a man that his body does not remain the same thing at different ages. Even if it be true that bodily identity means the resemblance and continuity of sense-contents, it is a travesty of the truth to say that sense-contents which are only 'occurrences' can maintain the continuity or know their resemblance. If that were so, a series of similar sounds could as well know itself as a continuous note. Supposing that the body remains the same in some sense or other, we are to observe that bodily identity will not explain the sense of personal identity which does not refer directly to the body. When I say that I am conscious of myself as the same person who wrote a book ten years ago, I do not find in me, nor do I intend to convey to others, any sense of my bodily identity. If the identity of a person were really constituted by the identity of his body, a maimed soldier would not be the same person that he was before he received the injury. So the self is not the body, nor is it constituted by bodily contents. Nor again can we follow the positivist's analysis of memory into memory images which correspond to previously experienced sense-contents. Memory does

¹ *Vide Ayer, op. cit.*, pp. 103-98.

not consist simply in *having* memory images which correspond, but in *knowing* that they do correspond, to past experiences of the same self. For this it is necessary to admit that the self is a permanent reality which remains the same in the past and the present, observes all the occurrences in the sense-history of the individual and yet transcends them all. If in spite of the severance of a limb, or a complete loss of memory, or a complete change of character, we speak of a man as remaining the same person, it must be because we believe that the man's self is not his body or his mind or their functions and dispositions. The self, therefore, must be admitted as a transcendent reality. If it be asked: 'Can the reality of the transcendent self be verified?' we reply that it is in principle verifiable through intellectual intuition and the method of verifying it is, according to the ancient Indian philosophers, the method of moral purification and contemplation. It may be contended by the positivist that so long as the self is not verified in practice, all propositions concerning it must be nonsensical. But the truth of this contention will render insignificant many empirical propositions which we could not verify even if we chose, *e.g.* "the proposition that there are mountains on the farther side of the moon."¹

From the foregoing discussion we see that there are certain forms of non-sensuous experience and a certain type of transcendent reality. We are thus in a position to say that it is possible for philosophy to be a metaphysic of reality and yet not nonsensical. If philosophy be, as the positivists think it is, a logic of science, then it is in no way distinguishable from science. As Mr. Ayer² points out, we may distinguish between the speculative and the logical aspect of science, which are concerned respectively with the formulation of hypotheses, and the explication of the logical relationship of these hypotheses and the definition of the symbols which occur in them. If this be so, we need not go beyond science and formulate a duplicate logic of science in philosophy. Mr. M. Schlick, the leader of the positivists, was more consistent when he predicted a future era in which there would be no philosophy but only philosophicalness.³ To this, I am only to add that if philosophicalness persists in spite of logical positivism, that is because there are certain experiences in man which take him

¹ Ayer, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

² *Ibid.*, p. 248.

³ *Vide The Journal of Philosophy*, July, 16, 1936, p. 408.

beyond the sensuous and the physical, and link him up with the supersensuous world of transcendent reality. Philosophy or philosophicalness, if it is to be anything different from science or scientificness, must be concerned with this transcendent reality.

The conception of philosophy which we find in Absolute Idealism closely approximates to the Indian conception of it. Defining philosophy as 'the science of the absolute idea,' Hegel says: "Philosophy is not a wisdom of the world, but is knowledge of what is not of the world; it is not knowledge which concerns external mass, or empirical existence and life, but is knowledge of that which is eternal, of what God is, and what flows out of His nature."¹ While the modern tendency in philosophy is to identify it with science, it was Hegel's firm conviction that philosophy is identical with religion, for, like religion, it occupies itself with God. The distinction between the two lies merely in the peculiar way in which they both occupy themselves with God. While religion is an apprehension of God through faith and feeling, philosophy is the knowledge of God through thought and reason. In the one, reality is apprehended in immediate self-consciousness, in the other, through the speculative reason.

Although there seems to be substantial agreement between the Hegelian and the Indian conception of philosophy, yet there are certain important points of difference between the two. What the Hegelians try to accomplish in their philosophy is to find out a universal principle of explanation, a single fundamental reality that adequately determines and explains everything. Dialectic as metaphysical logic is the method adopted by the Hegelians in the investigation of absolute truth, and the result is that they arrive at a speculative conception of the absolute reality. For the Indian philosopher, on the other hand, philosophy is a search for the ultimate reality within the self and an attempt to realize it through contemplation. He firmly believes that mere reasoning or logic cannot give us a knowledge of absolute truth. It is only by meditation and concentration that we can expect to have any knowledge of the absolute. Reasoning or logic is necessary in philosophy only so far as it helps us to examine and establish the truths given by direct experience, to exhibit their inner harmony and to defend them against the sceptic's attacks. As Kant very rightly observes, 'logical criticism is concerned, not

¹ *Vide Hegel, Philosophy of Religion, Vol. I, p. 19.*

with truth, but with formal validity. All that logic can give us is a formal or negative criterion of truth. In this way logic is a *canon*, not an *organon*. It can be used only for criticism, not for purposes of extending knowledge.' ¹ If this be true, then the dialectical method of Hegelian philosophy must be considered as illegitimate. It makes an improper use of logic for purposes of extending or producing knowledge, while logic is of help only for the purpose of criticising knowledge. No amount of logical argument would enable a man who is born blind to acquire a knowledge of light and colour. What is absolutely necessary and quite sufficient for this is to restore his eye-sight, if possible, and thereby put him in possession of the relevant experiences which alone would give him the knowledge of light and colour. It is because Kant fully realized the futility of theoretical reason in the matter of the knowledge of transcendent reality that he had recourse to moral faith to tell us anything about it. Hegel's speculative conception of the absolute is not, although it claims to be, really anything more than this moral faith. This conception, we are definitely told, is not given by the theoretical reason which we call the understanding. Far from this being so, the 'understanding' has an inherent tendency to destroy the religious faith in God or the absolute. The reason which functions in philosophy is opposed to the understanding and is "the Reason of the Universal, which presses forward to unity." ² That there is a Universal Reason we may *believe*, but do not certainly *know*. So long as we have not realized it in some actual experience, it remains a matter of moral faith for us. What the speculative conception seeks to know is just 'the Reason of the Universal.' So we observe that, instead of giving us any knowledge of the Universal Reason (*i.e.* the absolute), Hegel's speculative conception itself depends on a sort of moral faith in it. What is necessary to transform this faith into knowledge is, as Kant pointed out clearly, some kind of *intellectual intuition* which is not governed by the laws of space, time and causality. This would verily be the experience of the transcendent self as free immortal spirit. Kant, however, was content to leave it as a logical possibility, because he found no way of realizing it.

Mr. F. H. Bradley seems to give us the substantial truth of the whole matter when he defines 'philosophy or metaphysics as an attempt

¹ Cf. Paton, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 189.

² Vide Hegel, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 29-31.

to know reality or the absolute as against mere appearance,' and mentions, as sources of our knowledge of the absolute, the experiences which are involved in mere feeling or immediate presentation, and in the ideas of goodness and of the beautiful. From these he derives the knowledge of a unity which, like the absolute, transcends and yet contains every manifold appearance. But then he tells us that even these 'supply not an *experience* but an abstract idea of the absolute, and that if we can *realize* at all the general features of the absolute and see that somehow they come together in a way known vaguely and in the abstract, our result is *certain*.'¹ This plainly means that, according to Bradley, certain knowledge of the absolute requires a realization of it in some transcendent experience, call it spiritual experience or intellectual intuition, just as you please. Bradley, however, does not suggest any practical way of attaining this much-needed experience. It is here that the Indian philosophers recommend the method of *yoga*, in some form or other, as a necessary means of realizing the transcendent reality. It is by means of moral purification, constant meditation and concentration that we are to have a direct experience of absolute truth. As Prof. K. C. Bhattacharyya has put the matter in his inimitable way: "Metaphysics, or more generally, philosophy, is not only not actual knowledge, but is not even literal thought; and yet its contents are contemplated as true in the faith that it is only by such contemplation that absolute truth can be known."² This, however, should not give one the impression that Indian philosophy is only mystical or anti-rational. Far from this being so, we see how every Indian system of philosophy makes as much use of logical criticism as any other system of Western philosophy, to establish its theories and defend them against all possible attacks. It is true that the Indian systems depend ultimately on some experience for a knowledge of the truths which have been logically examined and validated by them. But this is as it should be, for, as we have already indicated, experience is the only source of our knowledge of truths, whereas logic is concerned with the formal validity or the criterion of truth. Here then we seem to vindicate the Indian conception of philosophy. If philosophy is to be a study distinct from science or logic, it must be a metaphysic of reality, which is ultimately based on some intellectual intuition or spiritual experience, attained through contemplation, and is validated by logical criticism.

¹ *Vide* Bradley, *Appearance and Reality*, pp. 1, 140-42 (*italics mine*).

² *Vide* *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*, p. 66.

SHELLEY'S EPIPSYCHIDION—A STUDY *

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THE two dramas, *Prometheus Unbound* and *The Cenci*, illustrate the poet's appreciation of beauty in a setting of terror. The figure of the hero, Prometheus, "a writhing shade, mid whirlwind-peopled mountains," undergoing the terrible tortures of the "almighty Tyrant," together with the phantasm of Jupiter, the horrible forms of furies, and that awe-inspiring, shapeless mass of darkness called Demogorgon, affects our mind with a sense of dread. In a contrary manner are we affected by the benign spirits and the gentle figures of Ione, Panthea and Asia as also by the loveliness of the nature of the Indian Caucasus. I do not wish to speak of the thought allegorised in the drama, but much of its mere aesthetic effect proceeds from a comingling and contrast of these two elements of beauty and terror, of gentleness and fierceness, of the forces of light and darkness. The language in many parts of the drama is so designed as to carry the sense of dread. The description of the hideous Furies with hydra-tresses, definitely suggested by the Medusa picture of Da Vinci, is full of imaginative horror :

- They come, they come,
Blackening the birth of day with countless wings,
And hollow underneath, like death.

The whole atmosphere of the scene at the cave of Demogorgon is uncanny. A weird feeling is produced with the first line of the scene and it is sustained till the end not only by the mysterious replies of Demogorgon, uttered in an awful voice, but also by such words and phrases in the speeches of Asia and Panthea as "terror, crime, remorse," "Hell or the sharp fear of Hell," "the shape of Death," "If the abyss could vomit forth its secrets," "A spirit with a dreadful countenance," "ghastly charioteer," "the shadow of a destiny more dread than is my aspect," "That terrible shadow floats Up from its throne, as may the lurid smoke of earthquake-ruined cities," "the coursers fly terrified."

This scene is followed by another scene which is full of light and love, forming a strong contrast with its weird gloom.

The terror-motive is found again in the beginning of the third act when Jupiter, seated on his throne in heaven, and anxious to crush the soul of man, speaks how

Even now have I begotten a strange wonder,
That fatal child, the terror of the earth,
Who waits but till the destined hour arrive,
Bearing from Demogorgon's vacant throne
The dreadful might of ever-living limbs
Which clothed that awful spirit unbeheld
To redescend, and trample out the spark.

The dreaded Demogorgon again appears and throws upon the scene a solemn and mysterious effect. As Jupiter cries out—"Awful shape, what art thou? Speak!," he replies:

Eternity. Demand no direr name.
Descend and follow me down the abyss.
I am thy child, as thou wert Saturn's child.
Mightier than thee: and we must dwell together
Henceforth in darkness.

As we read these lines, we seem to lose confidence in life that comes to us from observing the constant shooting up of things on the surface of the earth which lies solid beneath our feet, and, we feel terror-stricken like an infant lost in darkness.

In the beginning of the fourth act, which is vibrant with joy and brightness, we are presented with a macabre picture in the procession of the dark forms passing confusedly and singing the dirge of Time:

Here, oh, here:
We bear the bier
Of the Father of many a cancelled year
Spectres we
Of the dead Hours be,
We bear Time to his tomb in Eternity.
Strew, oh, strew
Hair, not yew!
Wet the dusty pall with tears, not dew!
Be the faded flowers
Of Death's bare bowers
Spread on the corpse of the King of Hours!

The act ends with the re-appearance of Demogorgon who once more strikes a sense of awe into our heart. As the dreadful figure approaches, the bright singing spirits pale into insignificance and the earth trembles like a drop of dew that dies, and the moon is shaken like a leaf. At last Demogorgon utters a solemn speech (the voice of eternal Justice) in which he indicates the principles of heroic conduct.

In *The Cenci* Shelley descends for once from the heights of his ethereal world to the real world of history, but the choice of the theme reveals the peculiar cast of his mind. In this drama he has got rid of his metaphysical speculation and the obsession of Godwinian socialism, and has tried to handle the past with as much "historic-mindedness" as he could, but he could not get rid of his pre-romantic proclivities. The aesthetic basis of the play is the old one of loveliness and terror, contrasted and combined. "A tragic union of loveliness and death, like that of Medusa, is the heart of the poem."¹ Beatrice, the heroine, a lovely being, whose portrait by Guido Reni at the Barberini Palace in Rome fired the imagination of Shelley who considered it as "a just representation of one of the loveliest specimens of the workmanship of nature," is a tragic figure that may be said to be woo'd by death itself, whose dark shadow hangs heavily on the whole drama from the beginning to the end. She is put in the midst of a gloomy antagonistic world and is crushed by the chain of circumstances unloosened by one mistake committed by her. In contrast to this tragic womanhood, we have the figure of Count Cenci, an historical personage embodying all those aspects of character which go to the making of the pre-romantic gloomy and egotistical tyrant of the terror novels.

The pivot of the play is the terrible incest theme which some of the pre-romantics so much delighted to handle. "Incest," Shelley wrote to Mrs. Gisborne in 1819, "is like many other incorrect things, a very poetical circumstance. It may be the excess of love or hate. It may be the defiance of everything for the sake of another, which clothes itself in the glory of the highest heroism; or it may be that cynical rage which, confounding the good and bad in existing opinions, breaks through them for the purpose of rioting in selfishness and antipathy." The incest theme is as old as literature. It is found in *Iliad*,

¹ Kurtz, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

in the Oedipus-theme of Sophocles, in Euripides (*Hyppolytus*), in Seneca. It is present in some of the Elizabethan dramas:—in *Pericles* of Shakespeare, in Beaumont and Fletcher (*A King and No King*, *Woman Pleased*, *The Fair Maid of the Inn*), in Ford (*It's Pity She is Whore*). But the terrible theme was given a new aesthetic currency in the pre-romantic period by Walpole who treats of it in its most revolting form in *The Mysterious Mother* in which the mysterious mother secretly becomes the mistress of her own son and presents him with a daughter whom her son afterwards marries. When the secret is revealed, the mother commits suicide, the daughter enters a convent and the son meets with death in war. The theme is also present in *Romance of the Forest* and *The Italian* by Mrs. Radcliffe and *The Monk* by Lewis. The saner romantics like Scott, Wordsworth and Southey pass it over in silence, but Byron handled it in several of his poems and Shelley hinted at it in *The Revolt of Islam* and *Rosalind and Helen*, but in the drama in question everything hinges on this motive, and the effect produced is that of “fear and compassion for the misfortunes of a guiltless and magnanimous heroine.”¹

The play abounds in passages about the mystery of death and is strewn with the phraseology of terror-romanticism.

The great *Ode to the West Wind* is again another illustration of how susceptible Shelley was to the loveliness of and in terror. The tempestuous wind is conceived by the poet as both destroyer and preserver. It is not only the breath of Autumn's being, robbing nature of her sweet manifestations of life by its wild touch, but is also the harbinger and distributor of new seeds of life. The very first stanza lands us into the macabre world which appears repeatedly in Shelley's poems:

O wild West Wind, thou breath of Autumn's being,
 Thou, from whose unseen presence the leaves dead
 Are driven, like ghosts from the enchanter fleeing,
 Yellow, and black, and pale, and hectic red,
 Pestilence-stricken multitudes:

The entire imagination of the poet is here seen to be set in motion by the motive of terror which is struck into our heart by the cumulative effect of the use of words like “unseen presence,” “ghosts,”

¹ Kurtz, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

"enchanter," "yellow, black, pale, hectic red, pestilence-stricken." The simile is taken from Dante and inverted here. In the third canto of *Inferno*, Dante compares Adam's evil brood to the light dead autumnal leaves:

Come d'autunno si levan le foglie
l'una appresso dell' altra, fin che 'lramo
veda alla terra tutte le sue spoglie,
Similmente il mal seme d'Adamo
gittansi di quel lita ad uns ad una,
per canni come augel per suo richiamo. (ll. 112-157)

Dante's simile is a most happy one, and is intended not to strike terror but to show the lightness of the spirits. Shelley on the contrary at once strikes a macabre note by comparing the leaves to ghosts and he goes on intensifying this note by weird suggestions of the subsequent adjectives. This note is continued in the third stanza where seeds are compared to corpses lying within their graves. In the second part of the poem, this note is again struck in the following lines:

'Thou dirge
Of the dying year, to which this closing night
Will be the dome of a vast sepulchre
Vaulted with all thy congregated might
Of vapours, from whose solid atmosphere
Black rain, and fire, and hail will burst:

In the third part the poet brings before us the sunlit soft beauty of the bays of Naples and Baiae bearing on their bosom the quivering reflections of old palaces and towers. But even in this peaceful haunt of beauty we are made to hear the note of terror. As the West Wind passes over this bland Mediterranean coast, all the sea-blooms and oozy woods

know
Thy voice, and suddenly grow gray with fear,
And tremble and despoil themselves.

The last two parts of the poem, however, form a sharp contrast to the earlier parts in their general tone, but the terribleness of the

West Wind is emphasised by such apostrophes as " O uncontrollable " " Spirit fierce," " Impetuous one."

The little known poem called " Medusa " also shows how Shelley was fascinated by the combination of beauty and terror. Its theme is the painting of the same name by Leonardo da Vinci which he saw at Florence. Da Vinci's painting is a marvellous presentation of the union of grace and it is a significant fact that, of all the paintings and sculptures which Shelley studied every day for some time at the galleries of Florence, it was this terrible picture that affected him so deeply as to draw forth these no less terrible verses. No quotation can give an adequate idea of the terribleness of the poet describing the tempestuous loveliness of terror which he found in "A woman's countenance, with serpent-locks, Gazing in death on Heaven from those wet sockets "(st. v). It should be read as a whole, and should be re-read after having a look at Da Vinci's picture. As poetry it is usually considered by the critics to be a thing of minor importance. But its importance increased when considered as a great poet's rendering of a great artist's aesthetic expression and as an illustration of a peculiar trait of Shelley's mind.

II

But we have deviated from the subject and let us resume the thread of our argument. When Shelley addressed Emilia as "Thou beauty and thou terror," he expressed a different psychological attitude than the one that we have tried to indicate above. It may be Beauty is here considered by Shelley as terrible because it has the power of upsetting the mental equilibrium and throwing the intellect into confusion. Perhaps to make our meaning clear, we can compare with this a similar, almost the same expression, used by Shelley in *The Cenci*. In the second scene of the first act of the drama, Count Cenci addresses his daughter Beatrice as " Fair and yet terrible." But the force and significance of the word " terrible " here is made clear by the context and by the words immediately preceding and following it:

Thou painted viper !
Beast that thou art ! Fair and yet terrible !
I know a charm shall make thee meek and tame,
Now get thee from my sight !

Beatrice is fair to look at and her character ought to have been gentle and meek in agreement with her beauty, but on the contrary she has an untameable spirit which does not hesitate to expose her father and put him to shame in the presence of the princes and the nobles gathered on the occasion of the feast given by Count Cenci at the reported death of his sons. The expression is almost a prophecy of the dreadful crime she is to commit, *i. e.*, the murder of the count. Emilia, on the contrary, is described as too gentle to be human and yet she is a terror. Evidently she is a "terror" in a sense different from the one in which Count Cenci uses the word. Her beauty is terrible because it suggests for the lover the tragic menace of death or which tantamounts to the same thing, the threatening sense of life. I say threatening sense of life because on certain occasions when mundane beauty is looked *sub specie aeternitatis* or contemplated with too profound emotion, one's whole being may be so deeply and thoroughly stirred that the sense of the vastness and greatness of the beauty of life and the universe may be too excessive and overpowering for us. To throw further light on the attitude of Shelley as we have tried to explain, it may be mentioned that an analogous psychological condition can be met with even in a modern poet like Rainer Maria Rilke. This poet, in one of his poems called *Die Weisse Fuerstin*, expresses the notion that life threatens and beauty terrifies us when we realize its greatness and divineness in the intensest moments of our existence. Every angel, for this poet, is terrible because he is the shadow of the Divine Being and because he brings death to our mind by his superhuman beauty and splendour. Gentle Emilia was a terror to Shelley in the same way as God's gentle angels are to Rilke :

All shapes look glorious which thou gazest on !

(l. 32)

This is obviously a reminiscence of what Dante says of Beatrice :

Negli occhi porta la mia donna Amore :

Per che si fa gentil ciò ch'ella mira. (V. N. XXI)

(All that she looks upon is made pleasanter)

I never thought before my death to see

Youth's vision thus made perfect.

(ll. 41-42)

These lines seem to us to contain an echo of Dante's

Vede perfettamente onne salute
chi la nica donna tra le donne vede (v. iv.)

Art thou not void of guile
A lovely soul formed to be blessed and bless ?
(ll. 56-57)

Cf. Dante :

Credo che in ciel nascesse esta soprana
E venne in terra per nostra salute :
Dunque beato chi i'è prossimana.

the brightness
Of her divinest presence trembles through
Her limbs—— (ll. 78-80)

This brightness emanating from an aethereally light body recalls to mind Cavalcanti's lines :

Chi è questa che vien, ch'ogni uom la mira,
Che fa di clarità l'aer tremare ?
(Who is she that comes making the air tremble with light?)

And from her lips, as from a hyacinth full
Of honey-dew, a liquid murmur drops,
Killing the sense with passion.....
(ll. 83-85)

Prof. Ackermann draws our attention to the similarity of this passage with Dante's

Ogni dolcezza, ogni pensiero umile
Nasce nel core a chi parlar la sente.¹

But whereas Dante brings out the purifying effect of the words uttered by his beloved, Shelley seems to lay more stress on the sensuous element of the voice :

The glory of her being, issuing thence,
Stains the dead, blank, cold air with a warm shade
Of unentangled intermixture, made
By love, of light and motion. (ll. 91-94)

¹ Quellen, Vorbilder, Stoffe zu Shelleys poetischen Werken by R. Ackermann, 1890.

This again seems to be an elaboration of the idea contained in Cavalcanti's lines already quoted. But the passage is followed by other lines which show a strong mingling in Shelley of spirituality and sensuousness in love :

One intense

Diffusion, one serene Omnipresence

Whose flowing outlines mingle in their flowing,
 Around her cheeks and utmost fingers glowing
 With the unintermitted blood, which there
 Quivers, (as in a fleece of snow-like air
 The crimson pulse of living morning quiver)
 Continuously prolonged, and ending never,
 Till they are lost, and *in that Beauty furled*
Which penetrates and clasps and fills the world ;
 Scarce visible from extreme loveliness.
 Warm fragrance seems to fall from her light dress
 And her loose hair ; and where some heavy tress
 The air of her own speed has disentwined,
 The sweetness seems to satiate the faint wind...

The tonality of the underlined passages and that of the rest of the extract is not the same. The thought moves here in two planes, the physical and the metaphysical, but they are placed side by side and the two coalesce so that the descent and ascent of thought takes place smoothly. But what does Shelley do here ? Does he intend to spiritualise the sensuous or to add sense to spirit ? No close reading of the piece is necessary to perceive that it is the sensuous world that invades here the austere world of the spirit. This was recognized by a keen student of the poet, Prof. Woodberry, who thought that this emphasis on the sensuous element detracted from the ideality of the poem. Emilia is depicted in a much more sensuous way than Beatrice who is almost an abstraction, because Dante ruthlessly suppressed all sensuous reference to her body. But Emilia is presented to us with all the wealth of flesh and blood. We not only feel her presence, but also the voluptuousness of her body. The poet refers to her cheeks, her fingers, her loose hair and even her light dress. And yet we cannot say what exactly her features are, as the momentum of the poet's imagination here does not come from a clarity of observation but from the intensity of voluptuous delight.

It has been said in defence of Shelley that in this fusion of the metaphysical and the physical, of the sensuous and the supersensuous, he resembles Dante in whom also the ideal and the real worlds exist side by side and spiritual experiences are given sensuous embodiment. But the quality of the imagination displayed by the two poets seems to be quite different. Dante's ideas and experiences receive sensuous embodiment because he intends to visualize them before his readers. Abstruse and abstract things are made by him as concrete as possible with the help of similes and imageries taken from the ordinary human experience and the common sights and scenes of the world. A strange thing is made most familiar to us with daring realism. Take an example :

They each one eyed us, as at eventide
One eyes another under a new moon ;
And toward us sharpened their sight, as keen
As an old tailor at his needle's eye. (Inf. XV)

The poet is speaking of a troop of spirits looking at him and the whole has been rendered most vivid by a simile taken from a matter of fact aspect of life. Such concrete rendering of poetical truth is a common feature of Dante's poetry. Here is another example :

like a troop of bees,
Amid the vernal sweets alighting now.
Now, clustering, where their fragrant labour glows
Flew downward to the mighty flower, or rose
From the redundant petals, streaming back
Unto the steadfast dwelling of their joy. (Paradise, XXX-XXXI)

This simile has been used to give us an idea of the blissful motion of the saintly multitude round Christ by rivetting our attention upon a picture which is clear in every detail. Dante does not merely think and feel his ideas, but he sees them as concrete entities and he is not satisfied till he can make us see them with as much concreteness as he does. His keen faculty for visualization always leads him to definiteness and minute accuracy in expression, without however, losing that high quality of poetry—suggestion. It is in order to produce this definiteness that, in his search after realistic similes, he sometimes even descends into the grotesque.

Dante concentrates his ideas, similes and imageries. Shelley on the contrary dilates them. Very frequently he expands an idea or an emotion into several lines, even several stanzas, by an accumulation of an abundant number of dazzling adjectival phrases and comparisons, till we forget the original idea or the original emotion, or if we do not entirely forget it, till it becomes somewhat distant and vague. Definiteness is not an article in which Shelley deals, and though he has his own pictorial way of thinking and though he renders into likeness of form his emotions and inward experiences, he can seldom give to his corporalized abstractions that touch of realism and definiteness which we find in Dante. Dante always saw with a sense of fact, even when he was moving in the highest of the ethereal regions. Shelley's genius was a solvent of reality. As Prof. Paul de Reul observes, Shelley's "images are not connected by an organic link with some living spot in our memory. They are often too vague to have either life or plastic beauty. They may also be very precise, but of a precision no more vivid than in an hallucination, a dream or a nightmare."¹

In Shelley we miss not only the realism and definiteness of Dante but also the asceticism of his spirit. Sensuous embodiment of abstractions is present in both, but in Shelley there is moreover, a delight in voluptuousness as against the ascetic control of the other poet. The utmost that Dante would say with reference to the physical charms of Beatrice is the splendour of her eyes—*lo splendor degli occhi suoi ridenti*—but he sanctifies the eyes. Beatrice's eyes are *occhi santi*, they are *the abode of spirituality* and they engender feelings which are of infantine purity and freshness rather than passionate. In Shelley, on the contrary, passionate voluptuousness is a strong note. We have noticed it in the passage quoted above. Towards the end of the poem we again detect it in a much more accentuated form, so accentuated that the cry of the body mingles with the cry of the soul:

Our breath shall intermix, our bosom bound,
And our veins beat together; and our lips
With other eloquence than words eclipse
The soul that burns between them, and the wells
Which boil under our being's inmost cells,

¹ The Centenary of Shelley. Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the U. K., New Series, Vol. III, 1928.

The fountains of our deepest life, shall be
Confused in Passion's golden purity.

But by this carnationed idealism Shelley distinguished himself from Dante not so much as an individual, as the inheritor of the ideals of a different age. When Dante wrote, the monastic ideal ~~was~~ predominant and Dante, as the child and representative of the mediaeval Catholic culture, allegorized his passion, not with any strain upon his moral and intellectual inclinations, but in a perfectly natural manner. For him the transition from love to theology was a smooth one. But his age was soon followed by mighty changes in the outlook of man. The brilliant epoch of the Renaissance, by its pagan humanism, threw the claims of Heaven into the background and the Catholic monastic ideal had to yield place to the new morality of the senses. Very instructive, in this respect, is the study of the transformation which the ideal of love undergoes from the time of Dante to the Italian poets of the sixteenth century. It becomes increasingly difficult for the poets of the epoch to remain faithful to the ideal of celestial love, and with the passing of the years we find them succumbing more and more to the attraction of physical sensuousness.¹

Modern world has been the legatee of this new Renaissance morality of the senses and in judging a poem like *Epipsychidion* this fact must be borne in mind. There is no denying the fact that as Prof. Woodberry says, the emphasis on physical sensuousness attenuates the idealism of the poem, but to consider it as a blemish in comparison with Dante's poem, is to forget the six centuries which intervene between and separate Shelley from Dante.

It is only in the earlier part of the poem, containing the compliments to Emilia, that we feel the accent to be in the manner of the "dolce stil nuovo," but soon the subjectivism of the modern romanticist asserts itself and towards the close the voice of the romantic passion is blended with the intonations of the Renaissance poets of the *voluttà idillica* (idyllic voluptuousness). The desire of Shelley to elope with Emilia to an Eden-like island situated in the Aegean seas and to enjoy love there in the midst of rural bliss, untrammelled

¹ A brief discussion of this transformation of the ideal of love is to be found in my essays on "Michael Angelo's great Love," *Calcutta Review*, July, 1937 and "The Poetry of Chivalrous Love," *Calcutta Review*, March and April, 1938.

by social conventions, is the same Arcadian longing which animated Lorenzo dei Medici, Poliziano, Sannazzaro, Molza, Tansillo, Guarini, Tasso and a host of other poets and made them sigh for the "bella età d'oro" and the "liete dolcezze dell'amorose grege" in the lap of nature. In fact, if the nature of the poetic inspiration is to be judged not only from where it starts, but also by the direction of its movement then it seems evident to me that, when writing the poem, Shelley had in mind as much the amorous attitude of Dante as of the later poets. Lines such as

It is an isle under Ionian skies,
 Beautiful as a wreck of Paradise,
 And, for the harbours are not safe and good,
 This land would have remained a solitude
 But for some pastoral people native there,
 Who from the Elysian, clear and golden air
 Draw the last spirit of the age of gold,
 Simple and spirited ; innocent and bold.

and the rest that follow, with their indescribable grace and suggestions, are tremulous with the voluptuous idyllic feeling which we discover, for example, in the fragrant verses of Poliziano, and the whole poem with its glorification of the woman, its Platonic ideas, the sensuousness of certain descriptions, and the idyllic note, is the product of a state of soul which is perceptible in the Dantesque imitations of a Boccaccio, in his *Ameto*, and of the fifteenth century poets like Lorenzo dei Medici, in his *Selve*, who transferred their poems of Platonic love into the idyllic world.

The idyllic conclusion of the poem and its sensuous note definitely puts the *Epipsychidion* into a category different from that of the *Vita Nuova*. If the *Vita Nuova* be taken as the point of departure of the poet's inspiration, the *volutta idillica* of the Renaissance poets should be considered as the point of arrival. In fact, the poem is representative of all the amorous attitudes from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. In some parts we have the spiritual attitude of Dante, in other parts the sensuousness of Petrarch, and towards the end the idyllic motive of the later Renaissance poets. The end of the poem in an idyllic note was inevitable, because in Shelley's mind the problem of love was connected with the problem of happiness and the problem of happiness with the age of gold. Human mind in all ages have found

happiness in the past and poets and dreamers have dreamt of a reign of Saturn when life was blissful and carefree, when jealousies and rivalries, passions and animosities social conventions and legal trammels did not exist. A description of the innocent and free life in the age of gold is found in Plato, Hesiod, Virgil and Ovid. A conception parallel to the Golden Age is found in the legend of a distant blissful island lost in the Western seas, *e. g.*, the pagan Atlantis and the Hesperides and the mediaeval Earthly Paradise. At the time of the Renaissance the two conceptions became blended together, and, reinforced by the pastoral ideal depicted in the idylls of Theocritus and the Eclogues of Virgil, generated anew the longing for the Golden Age and the happy Arcadian life. This love of primitivism was also anticipated by the mediaeval Christian saints like St. Francis who had a distrust of bookish culture and preferred to receive wisdom and knowledge by direct communion with nature. Developed successively by Boccaccio, Poliziano and Lorenzo dei Medici, the reborn pastoral ideal reached its period of mortal ripening in the sixteenth century when the poets, tired of culture and court-life and disgusted with city-pleasures, sighed for the bliss of the shepherd's life in rural surroundings.

Shelley's mind was always haunted by the ideal of the Golden Age. A born hater as he was of human institutions as the sources of the misery of the world, it was natural for him to be attracted by this ideal. Its knowledge may have been derived by him from his classical studies, or it may have come to him through his studies of the philosophers like Locke and Hume. In his treatise on Government Locke speaks of the Golden Age not as a poet's dream, but in an historical way. According to him man lived in an ideal state when he lived in a state of nature. His doctrine was also supported by the philosophical school of Shaftesbury according to whom the essential instinctive goodness of man was both a gift of God as well as a law of nature. The doctrine of natural goodness of man was further developed by Hume who made feeling the basis of morality, pleasure the accompaniment of virtue and pain that of vice. There was thus a gradual melting of the Arcadian ideal into the romantic ideal through the philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As further probable sources of Shelley's knowledge of the ideal of the Golden Age, mention may be made of Thomas Burnet's *The Theory of the Earth*, Milton's *Paradise Lost* (Bk. x, ll. 668ff.), Thomson's *Spring* (ll. 300ff) and Newton's *Return to Nature* and Cabanis's *Rapports du Physique*

et du Moral de l'Homme.¹ Shelley had also read the Italian idyllic poets like Tasso, Guarini, Lorenzo dei Medici and Boccaccio.

The motive of the Golden Age is found scattered in more than one part of Shelley's works. An ideal climate was connected in the poet's mind with the Golden Age. There is a picture of this ideal climate in *Queen Mab* (viii, ll. 107-118).² A similar picture is to be found in *Prometheus Unbound* (Act iii, scene iii, 115-123). At the end of the drama *Hellas* occurs a brilliant lyrical evocation of a vision of the Golden Age of the future. As to the idyllic picture at the end of *Epipsychidion* in which the pastoral and island motives are combined, a difference, however, is to be noted between it and the pastoral world of the Renaissance poets like Lorenzo dei Medici. The love which men of the Golden Age experience in an idyllic surrounding in a Platonic poet like Lorenzo is without any tinge of sensuality. It is a love without passion, hope and jealousy:

D'amore accesi senza passione,
speranza o gelosia non gli accopagna:
un amor sempre, qual il ciel dispone
e la natura, ch'è senza magagna.
Con questa simil di complessione
soletti e lieti van per la campagna:
l'età non mai o puerile o grande.
I panni son le fronde, e' i fior ghirlande.
(Selva II, 103).

But in Shelley the idyllic world is disturbed by the cry of passion. The cry is so sharp and so loud that it eclipses the voice of the soul. The poet himself feels this and says:

Woe is me!
The winged words on which my soul would pierce
Into the height of Love's rare universe,
Are chains of lead around its flight of fire
I pant, I sink, I tremble, I expire!

This is the stamp of passionate nineteenth century romanticism upon the quietude of the Renaissance idyllism.

We remarked before that the influence of Dante is very marked on *Epipsychidion*. We have given many illustrations of the same.

¹ & ² Shelley and *Cabanis* by Israel James Kapstein in PMLA, March, 1937.

Two more examples are given here. In lines 250 to 255 and again in line 321 of the poem Shelley speaks of life as a forest. This is evidently a recollection of the first lines of Dante's *Inferno*. In line 321 Shelley even makes verbatim use of Dante's phrase "selva oscura." The influence does not end with the words. There is a similarity in idea. Dante says that in the middle of his life after the death of his beloved, he had strayed into an obscure forest (symbolising the wild life of the senses) from which he was led out by Virgil through the loving interference of Beatrice. Shelley also says that in his dreamy youth, in course of visioned wanderings, he had often met a Being whom he afterwards lost, and, "feeding his course with expectation's breath," he entered into the forest of life in order to discover a form resembling Hers. He sought the shadow of that idol of his thought in many mortal forms, till

At length, into the obscure Forest came
The Vision I had sought through grief and shame.

I knew it was the Vision veiled from me
So many years—that it was Emily.

The second example in which Dante's influence is noticeable is the boat motive of the poem. Shelley invites Emily to take the boat which is lying at the harbour and to float over the "sea's azure floor" till they reach the blessed island under the Ionian skies. A longing for a somewhat similar amorous excursion is expressed by Dante in his sonnet to Guido Cavalcanti:

Guido, vorrei che tu e Lapo ed io
Fossimo presi per incantamento,
E messi ad un vascel, ch'ad ogni vento
Per mare andasse a voler vostro e mio;
Sicche fortuna, od altro tempo rio
Non ci potesse dare impedimento,
Anzi, vivendo sempre in un talento,
Di stare insieme crescesse in disio.
E monna Vanna e monna Bice poi,
Con quella ch'è sul numero del trenta,
Con noi ponesse il buono incantatore:
E quivi ragionar sempre d'amore;
E ciascuna di lor fosse contenta,
Siccome io credo che saremmo noi.

The influence was already indicated by Prof. Ackermann. Considering the fact Shelley had already translated this sonnet as early as 1814,¹ the suggestion is highly probable.

A minor influence of Dante may also be found in the envoy to the poem which is in the manner of the poets of the "dolce stil nuovo." Mention of the three names in it, Marina, Vanna and Primus seems to be suggested by the three ladies mentioned in Dante's sonnet—*monna Vanna, monna Bice and quella ch'è sul numero del trenta.*

We have already quoted Shelley's letter to John Gisborne in which he says that he cannot look at *Epipsychidion* and that the person whom it celebrates was a cloud instead of a Juno. What happened in the meantime that led to the attenuation of Shelley's sympathy for Teresa Viviani? Some of the biographers of Shelley have fallen upon a sentence in a letter by him to Clare to find out the cause for his disillusion: "Her moral nature is fine but not above circumstances." The writer of the article on Shelley in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says that "Emilia's character developed less favourably in the eye of her Platonic adorer." Mrs. Mary Shelley would have us believe that Teresa acted like a vampire woman in regard to Shelley because she took not a very small sum from him and did not pay it back. We cannot put as much weight upon her statements regarding Teresa as they deserve, because they were sometimes actuated by jealousy.² Mary's charge has been refuted by the biographer of Teresa. She did indeed once ask for money from Shelley, but it was not for herself but to help another person in distress and in order to remove the possibility of any doubt upon her, she requested him to hand over the money to a third person who would transmit the money to the distressed lady. The letter was written by her on 3rd September, 1821, and she left Pisa for good five days later. If this be the sum of which Mrs. Shelley speaks, then it cannot explain the diminution of Shelley's sympathy for the girl. As to Shelley's remark to Clara that her moral nature was fine but not above circumstances, it may also have been made in order to smooth matters with Mrs. Shelley as appears from the context. "There is no reason that you should fear any admixture of that which you call love. My conception of Emilia's talents augments every day. Her moral nature is fine—but

¹ Helen Richter, *Shelley* (p. 213).

² Mrs. Helen Rossetti Angelelli has shown in her book how much Mrs. Shelley suffered from *Epipsychidion*.

not above circumstances ; yet I think her tender and true—which is always something.” Mrs. Shelley did not like Shelley’s Italian platronics, and it is very natural that she may have tried to create an unfavourable impression about Teresa in his mind. This becomes apparent from letters which Shelley wrote after the marriage of Teresa.¹

The real reasons for the diminution of Shelley’s sympathy, if there was any, are different. In the first place, it is known that all the idols of Shelley were sooner or later dethroned—Hogg, Southey, Harriet, Godwin, Elizabeth Hitchener, Mrs. Mason the inspirer of *The Sensitive Plant*, Sgricci, Pacchiani, Prince Mavrocordato. The higher was the exaltation, the greater was the fall of his friends. It is no wonder therefore that the inspirer of the *Epipsychidion* should also meet with the same fate. The idealisation was the greatest in her case and when the inspiration was over, when the spell was at an end, in the light of reaction the object of worship perhaps appeared to him as an ordinary mortal, more ordinary than she really was. Secondly, a new idol soon appeared in the poet’s horizon in the form of Jane Williams who was introduced to him by Medwin in January, 1821. Shelley soon became interested in this new Antigone and produced some of his finest lyrics of the year under her influence, in which “attentive students may perceive that the thought of Emilia was already blending by subtle transitions with the new thought of Jane.”² A third reason perhaps lay in the difference in character between Shelley and Teresa. Shelley was a born rebel and he perhaps expected that Teresa, who was eager for liberation from the tyranny of her parents, would be able to revolt against them. But instead, she bent to her destiny and agreed like a meek lamb to enter into a matrimony of her father’s choice. This must have been very odious to Shelley who considered the institution of marriage as barbarous, particularly the institution of marriage in Italy which he considered to be much more cruel than in England.³ Teresa’s decision to enter into an arranged match may therefore have thrown cold water upon his enthusiasm for her.

But did Shelley really feel disgusted with the girl ? The degree of his enthusiasm may have become lower, but we are disinclined to

¹ For a full discussion of the subject see *Vita di una Donna*.

² Shelley by J. A. Symonds, 1887, p. 168.

³ Letter to Clara, August 17, 1821.

believe that it reached the freezing point. That he continued to feel some interest in her, seems evident from the fact that he continued to visit her in the convent and to have correspondence with her till she was finally married. There is also a poetical testimony to this interest in the poem *Ginevra* which undoubtedly symbolises the fate of Teresa, "poor, sacrificed Emilia." The poem was perhaps inspired by the marriage of the girl. There are indications in the poem which make one think that Shelley had the vision of Teresa before him in writing the poem.¹ The description of *Ginevra* in the beginning of the poem is reminiscent of the features of Teresa:

And so she moved under the bridal veil
Which made the paleness of her cheek more pale,
And deepened the faint crimson of her mouth,
And darkened her dark locks, as moonlight doth,—

There is also a distinct reference to the facts of her life in the following lines:

Friend, if earthly violence or ill,
Suspicion, doubt, or *the tyrannic will*
Of parents, chance of custom, or terror, or revenge,
Or wildered looks, or words, or *evil speech*,
With all their stings and venom can impeach
Our love,—we love not:²

If to this poem we add the testimony of the letter which Teresa wrote to Shelley on 3rd September, 1821, how can we doubt that Shelley continued to have a soft corner for her in his heart?

In this letter, which is a reply to one which Shelley had written, Teresa says: Quando sarò maritata, se vuoi scrivermi, mi farai piacere, ma bada d'essere molto circospetto in tutte le tue espressioni, e tratta mi col voi. It means that till then Shelley had been using warm expressions to her. Again when Lord Byron, Shelley and their party had the trouble with Sergeant Masi (March 24, 1821), Shelley with Pietro Gamba, a member of the party, went directly to Teresa's father as Governor of Pisa to settle the matter, which would not have happened if Shelley had really felt any disgust for the girl.

¹ According to Mrs. Shelley *Ginevra* is based on "L'Ossevatore Fiorentino" (sugli edifizii della sua patria, Firenze, 1821).

² "The tyrannic will of parents" needs no comment. As regards "evil speech" all students of Shelley know that there were gossip stories current at Pisa about his intimacy with Teresa.

Teresa was married on September 8, 1821. With her life after the marriage we are not concerned here. The biographer mentioned above has traced it with details up to the last day of her life. We shall conclude our study by mentioning only one more thing.

Was *Epipsychidion* ever written by Shelley in Italian? or at least did he ever have the design to write it in Italian? Trelawny once told W. M. Rossetti that the poem was at first written by Shelley in that language. But no complete Italian draft of the poem has till now been found and perhaps will never be found. But some lines in Italian have been quoted from Shelley's manuscript note-book by Roger Ingpen in his *Shelley in England* (p. 668) with the suggestion that perhaps these lines formed a part of such a design which the poet may or may not have completed. Ingpen's suggestion receives corroboration from the testimony which an Italian student of the poet, Prof. Adolfo de Bosis, has brought forth. This author asserts to have seen the first verses of *Epipsychidion* in Italian in the poet's own handwriting, in the manuscript of *The Mask of Anarchy*. They are :

bella dolce
che sei la sorella
di quella orfana anima che regge
il nome e la forma mia.

It is therefore very likely that the poet had at first tried to write the poem in Italian.

The Italian verses cited by Ingpen are as follows :

Dal spiro della tua
La chiara fronte, le labbra amorose
La guancia dal cadente sole tinta
Gli occhi, ove spento tempo posa
Sono immagini dei tuoi in tutta vita
Quella l'odor tu la stessa rosa
Questo la ombra al sostegno
La tua venuta aspettando
la vita va mancando.

Ah non pianger, no quaggiù non posso
Dal dua prigionio della passata
Dal vano pentimento e vana passione
Dal alta speme mai non compita

THE IDEA OF SUPERPOSITION AND THE SPHERE OF MIND

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PHILOSOPHICAL interpretation may be said to lie in the discovery or rather the formulation of new concepts or categories by the help of which the complexity of existence is grasped. The higher the level of existence to be understood the more inadequate become the concepts which suit lower levels. When attempts are made to reach higher unities, which naturally refuse to conform to the concepts of the lower, the need is felt for the formulation of new concepts. These are like scientific hypotheses or formulae newly discovered to cover new cases, repeatedly undergoing modification until a stage is reached when they appear completely different from what they were. Sometimes the discovery of a concept practically revolutionises scientific or philosophical explanations. In philosophy such a concept and its application give the system its peculiar character and become its label and trade mark. For instance, the concept of identity in difference or of the synthesis of the opposites, which has been systematically used by Hegel, is distinctly associated with his philosophy. Many others use it in one way or another without that association; yet the credit of having seen the full significance of that idea belongs to Hegel.

Does Indian philosophy contain any such key-ideas? A comparative study of Indian and European philosophies reveals to us that the former does contain some. Professor S. N. Dasgupta has recently formulated the idea of "Dependent Emergence."² It has been pointed out by some critics and reviewers that the idea is the same as that of *pratityasamutpada* of Buddhist philosophy. It is certainly one of the fundamental concepts of philosophy,³ and offers a clue to a clear understanding and appreciation of many of its

¹ Presidential Address delivered at the Logic and Metaphysics Section of the Indian Philosophical Congress, 1938.

² See his contribution to *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*, edited by Professor S. Radhakrishnan and Professor J. H. Muirhead.

³ See Paul Dahlke : *Buddhism*, p. 166, Eng. Tr.; and Mrs. Rhys Davids : *Buddhism*, p. 92. See also Stecherbatssky : *Buddhist Logic*, 2 vols.; see indices,

doctrines. Every system that treats the whole as posterior to, and dependent on, the parts should regard the whole as something like a dependent emergent from the parts. The concept thus supplies one side of the universe and its processes in general. Those who read Indian philosophy in the light of the Western sometimes hold that Indian philosophy can supply us with no new concepts. It is true that man is man and thought is thought everywhere. But in his interpretation of the universe he usually starts from a view-point of which he is not fully conscious ; and this view-point colours his whole interpretation. When this view-point is clearly formulated, the concept that forms the key to the whole system is disclosed. It is also true that some concepts of Indian philosophy have certain associations which are easily liable to criticism. This vulnerability may be wrongly attributed to the inherent absurdity of the concept itself. But it is open to us to free the concept of its associations and use it in its pure logical or cosmological significance. This point is, of course, a subject matter for interpretation and development of our philosophy.

II

The key concepts owe their uniqueness to the peculiarity of the outlook concerned. Unless we keep before our minds the difference in outlook between European and Indian philosophy from the very beginning, we are apt to miss the peculiarity of the latter when we compare it with the former. Western philosophy has its origin in Greek thought in which reasoning apart from considerations of existence begins. Mathematical reasoning is predominantly of such nature. The Greeks were attracted by the mathematical harmonies,¹ which are really due to the mutual implications in mathematical wholes of every part by every other, of parts by the whole, and of the whole by the parts. The Greeks bequeathed this ideal of reasoning to the subsequent logicians and philosophers of the West. Whatever in existence did fit in with that ideal was treated by the Greeks as unreal. Northrop tells us that by the Greeks " mathematics was considered a natural science. The modern conception of it as a subjectively created subject which deals only with the possibles had not yet arisen. Instead it was regarded as the basis of the actual and necessary in nature. " ²

¹ A. N. Whitehead : *Science and the Modern World*, pp. 24-35.

² *Philosophical Essays*, by Whitehead, p. 2.

But when it was found that nature as we perceive it did not exhibit mathematical harmony, the distinction was drawn between the real which was conceptual and exhibited mathematical harmony and the sensuous which did not exhibit it and so was treated as unreal. This distinction we find in most of the Greek philosophers in one form or another.

The influence of this reasoning upon science has been repeatedly acknowledged. J. W. N. Sullivan writes : " Scientific method, as we have seen from the work of its founders, Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, began by quite consciously and deliberately selecting and abstracting from the total elements of experience. From the total wealth of impressions received from nature, these men fastened upon some only as being suitable for scientific formulation. These were those elements that possess *quantitative* aspects. Between these elements mathematical relation exists, and these men were convinced that mathematics is the key to the universe." ¹ Further, " Kepler had supposed that non-mathematical qualities actually did belong to bodies, but that they were somehow less real. Galileo went further than this, and stated that non-mathematical properties are all entirely subjective." ² Mutual implication, inferability or deducibility of one element from another, and quantitative measurement—this was the ideal of this method of enquiry. For a long time it was supposed that the method could be safely followed in every science ; and certainly it was used with great advantage in sciences dealing with inorganic matter. But of late complete determinism and precise predictability have been found to be absent in some spheres of even inorganic being ; so that the presence of universal determinism is not admitted by some great scientists. Schrödinger tells us that " it can never be determined experimentally whether causality in nature is ' true ' or ' untrue.' " ³ He says : " According to the new theory, identical conditions at the beginning do not invariably lead to identical results ; all that they lead to is identical statistics (relative frequency of various possible events) ; indeed this is peculiarly what we mean by indeterminateness." ⁴ " In a very large number of cases of totally different types, we have now succeeded in explaining the

¹ *Limitations of Science*, p. 202.

² *Ibid.*, p. 205.

³ *Science and the Human Temperament*, p. 94—English Translation.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

observed regularity as completely due to the tremendously large number of molecular processes that are co-operating. The individual process may, or may not, have its own strict regularity." That is, where the individual is concerned, prediction is not possible; so that even physics refuses to be pressed into mathematical formulae.

But, on the whole, the ideal of mathematical reasoning worked well in the realm of inorganic being. To the realm of mind it is inapplicable. Between the inorganic and the mental there is the realm of life or organism. But the concept of organism, according to which the whole depends on the parts and the parts on the whole more closely than according to the concept of mechanism, is really the concept of the ideal of mathematical reasoning fully realised in existence. Inorganic nature does not answer completely to the mathematical ideal. It can at the most be a mechanism in which the parts exhibit independence of the whole for existence, while the whole is absolutely dependent on the parts. The concept, therefore, falls far short of the mathematical ideal.

That the method of mathematical reasoning cannot be applied to the study of mind has been recognized by thinkers like Whitehead, Sullivan etc., though, curiously enough, Whitehead's attempt to apply the concept of organism to the whole world is in essence the application of that method. Sullivan quotes from Whitehead: "The brilliant success of this method is admitted. But you cannot limit a problem by reason of a method of attack."² If the mathematical method were to be applied in its rigour to ethical and other enquiries in which each human being has to be studied as an independent agent, either the facts have to be distorted in order to fit them to the method, or they have to be regarded as incapable of being studied. Extreme determinists take the former course, and explain away our freedom and responsibility. For, according to them, to explain an event means to point out how it is determined, that is, to point out its causes. It is true that the character of the agent can be treated as the cause of his action. But the extreme determinist can have no place in his philosophy for the agent. The agent is regarded by him as an automaton, and each of his actions is explained in terms impersonal. Even Russell takes a very guarded view of the matter. He writes:

¹ I have dealt with this subject in my paper on "The Need for Transcending the Concept of Organism as a Principle of Explanation," published in *The Philosophical Quarterly*, January, 1938.

² *Limitations of Science*, p. 198.

“ In fact we have no reason to adopt either alternative. But we have no reason to suppose that the truth, whatever it may be, is such as to combine the agreeable features of both, or in any degree determinable by relation to our desires.” Where we should not *a priori* pronounce upon questions, we should depend upon our experience. Where consciousness supervenes, and the individual begins to reflect, his experience of himself should be given weight. It is the peculiarity of mind that it can set himself over against his own body. If we treat the mind as a whole, of which ideas, emotions, etc., are parts, then in mind we have an instance of a whole which can distinguish itself from the parts, and make the parts its own object. Herein lies the freedom of mind. The relation between mind and its parts (elements) is not organic in the sense of mutual dependence for existence or of mutual implication or entailment. Any idea, so long as it is known, implies the existence of the mind in which it is an idea. That is, the idea can have no existence without that mind. But the mind need not imply that idea. It may have that idea now and then may once for all forget it. The dependence between any idea and mind is one-sided ; and so the implication too is one-sided. Mind certainly must have some percept, concept, feeling or emotion before it. But it cannot be regarded as an organic unity of all these ; it is a unity that faces all these. Bradley tells us that psychical ideas or images have existence only so long as they are before mind and then cease to exist. ¹ Along with many other idealists he concedes eternity only to universal ideas. Whether we regard mind as eternal or not, we have to admit that, in most cases, it has fairly long continuous existence, and must have a tremendously large number of feelings, sensations, emotions, etc., which are of very short duration. And it seems absurd to think of mind as an organic unity of all these or as simply their mechanical unity. Besides, mind often has before it only one idea, sensation or feeling ; in which case, the concept of organic unity or of mechanical unity is irrelevant to it. Even if we admit for argument’s sake that the universal ideas are eternal, an organic or mechanical unity of these cannot be an *existent* mind ; for pure eternal universals, as understood by Bradley and other Western idealists, cannot have existence. Nor can mind be regarded

as an organic unity of both conscious and subconscious or unconscious ideas, feelings, etc. Freud and others who uphold the theory of the unconscious do not expound a specific doctrine of unconscious organic unity. Such a doctrine is not tenable. We are here speaking of the conscious mind ; and if some of its ideas, feelings, etc., do not enter into the organic unity of mind, we have enough evidence to disprove the doctrine. Hence this peculiarly one-sided relation that exists between mind as a whole and its parts must be acknowledged. To see mechanical or organic relation in this sphere is to distort facts.

Now it is open to question whether mind can be called a whole if its parts or elements are so evanescent. But we have agreed to call it a whole only because the so-called parts have no other place to rest in than mind. They are born, remain, and die in mind, and they belong to mind. So long as the peculiarity of this relation is recognised, it is of secondary importance what terms we use. We use the word whole for want of a more suitable one. If one likes, the word integrality may be used, but it sounds rather abstract.

Where the relation is so one-sided, we have transcended the spheres to which mathematical reasoning is applicable. As the whole does not imply the parts, the parts cannot be said to determine the whole completely. We find a large number of men guided by ideals which are not the mere products of the physical body and environment. It may be said that they are the products of education, that is, of the ideas they received from society. Not only this, but also that the body and the physical environment influence mind to some extent may be admitted. But the important fact is that mind in a very important sense can show independence of all of these. It can view itself as something apart from all. Their influence is limited, and depends on the individual allowing himself to be influenced. This characteristic is what differentiates mind from mere organism. And wherever any independence is found between the whole and the parts, mathematical reasoning is inapplicable. Human affections, feelings, etc., frustrate our attempts at calculation and are incapable of prediction and strict generalisation.

III

So far we have found that the interpretation of mind in Western philosophy is inadequate, because on that interpretation its peculiar

individuality and freedom cannot be given adequate recognition. There are certainly philosophers in the West, like Royce, who in one way or another tried to emphasize this individuality and freedom. But their method of approach was the mathematical with the Greek ideal of harmony or mutual implication. So somewhere in their system a clash appears. There are again thinkers like Bergson who revolted against this method of philosophical investigation and the intellectualism of the Greek tradition. But they do not so far belong to the general tradition of Western philosophy.

The Indian or the Vedāntic way of approaching this problem is different. Its point of view is that of the whole individual. It sees the human mind as an individual and its object too as an individual. It does not start with the parts or aspects into which an individual can be analysed, and then find itself at a loss to reconcile the claims of the whole and of the parts to priority. Not that the Indian philosophers did not exhibit analytical or dialectical skill; but that they did not treat abstractions obtained by analysis as the starting point. It is only Buddhism—that too mostly the Hīnayānist schools—that treated the parts into which the whole is analysed as not only prior, but also as real. But the Vedānta on the whole takes the opposite course. The individual is not regarded as a synthesis of the parts, but as somehow true and real on its own account. And in the Vedānta of Śaṅkara, we can find the view that the whole is not merely not a synthesis of the parts, but the parts are superimposed on the whole. This is the cosmological import of the concept of *adhyāsa*,¹ which is generally translated by the word superimposition. In the Advaita this concept has its origin in epistemology. The illusory snake which one wrongly sees in the rope is said to be *adhyasta* or superimposed on the rope. The tendency of Western philosophy is to analyse this experience of illusion and treat the snake as a synthesis, by imagination, of some elements taken from the rope and some from past experience; so that the snake seen in front loses its individuality and is understood in terms of elements imaginatively brought together. Thereby the snake really becomes an object of imagination, and not of perception. But the

¹ The derivation of the word is *adhi*+*√as* (to throw), that is, throwing upon something.

Advaita views the snake as an individual that is perceived.¹ Now this concept of *adhyāsa* has threefold significance. First, the snake seen in illusion depends for its existence on the underlying rope ; for a stone, for example, cannot be mistaken for a snake. But the rope does not depend for its existence on this illusory snake. Secondly, the existence of the rope is unaffected by the snake even during the time of illusion. That is, what is superimposed does not affect that on which it is superimposed. In the third place, even during the time of illusion, and of the ignorance of the presence of the rope, the rope is present and is waiting for our recognition. In other words, what is real is present even during the time of its appearance.

This concept the Advaita tried to apply systematically to the Absolute and its appearances. The Absolute is the eternal whole and the phenomenal world constitutes its appearance. A relation with the above threefold significance has to be found between the Absolute and the world. Therefore the Advaita says that the world is *adhyasta* or superimposed on the Absolute. In thus translating the concept of *adhyāsa* from the empirical illusion to the Absolute and its appearance, the Advaita has turned an epistemological concept into a cosmological one. The *adhyāsa* of the world upon the Absolute is not done by the human mind ; for this itself is *adhyasta* or superimposed on the Absolute. Nor can we say that the finite mind deliberately superimposes the snake on the rope. It is not done *by* it, but *for* it. Here too *adhyāsa* has objectivity. Yet the empirical *adhyāsa* arises in the epistemological situation of a subject facing an object. But the Absolute is never an object of the finite mind ; and the epistemological situation is transcended here.

In thus applying the concept of *adhyāsa* to the Absolute and its appearances, the Advaita laid itself open to one criticism, namely, that it gives the same status of unreality to the phenomenal world as it gives to the illusory snake. But this criticism is really due to misapprehension of the Advaita ; for it distinguishes between various levels of unreality. When we borrow this concept from the Advaita

¹ The theory of Gestalt and the principle of perceptual individualization (see Henri Piéron : *Principles of Experimental Psychology*, p. 104) may be referred to in support of this theory, of course, with certain modifications and reservations. But the Advaitin's theory need not stand or fall with these psychological doctrines, as his chief concern is epistemological and logical.

in order to apply it to mind and its parts or elements, we are free to divest it of its associations and use it in its purity. While rendering it into English I prefer the word 'superposition' to 'superimposition'; for the latter work is used with the undesirable association. The mind is a whole in which ideas, emotions, etc., come and go without its being organically related to them. Even when they go, the wholeness of mind is not impaired. The so-called parts may, therefore, be best regarded as superposed on mind. Here, certainly, the question of the reality or unreality of the ideas, etc., should not be raised; and if raised at all, the parts should be regarded as real, though less enduring than mind. It may be objected that the snake seen in the rope is not a part or element of the rope, just as an idea is a part or element of mind. True, but the idea too is not a part or element of mind in the ordinary sense. It only exists in mind. The concept is to be borrowed in the cosmological, not in the epistemological, sense. The world that is superposed on the Absolute, though it is not really part of the Absolute, which is *akhanda* or undivided, still has no other place to exist in than the Absolute.

We wish to borrow this concept from the Advaita, because it is only such a concept that can do justice to the freedom and individuality of minds. The concept is a key-concept of the Advaita, and a full understanding of the Advaita depends on a clear grasp of the concept. It is the result of a peculiar outlook and understanding the world in which the individuality of things seems to be treated as all-important. The concept disclosed itself as *adhyāsa* through gradual clarification of the outlook through centuries, and has been quite definitely and logically formulated in some of the later polemical works of the Advaita.¹ We should agree with Max Müller in that the Advaita successfully ventured to reach heights not reached by any other system either Western and Indian. In its epistemology it started with existences with all their individuality and concerned itself with concrete existence and not with harmonies that could be obtained only through abstraction. The method has its own disadvantages; but it certainly has its own advantage. It cannot be fruitful in the natural sciences; but in all sciences where the human individual has to be treated as an agent, its importance cannot be denied.

¹ E.g., *Advaitasiddhi*.

It is said above that the concept best expresses the relation between the Absolute and the world. Some interpreters of the Advaita may object to this expression ; for the Advaita denies every relation between the Absolute and the world. I too have said the same in my book, *Thought and Reality*, for no relation either organic or physical can be conceived between the two.¹ But the meaning of the word relation may be extended to cover its peculiar situation. *Adhyāsa* or superposition can be interpreted, in its cosmological sense, as the dependence for existence of the parts or elements on the whole, and may be treated as a peculiar relation.² The point is, however, a question of terminology.

There is nothing absurd in the idea of superposition. We need not fight shy of borrowing a concept from a system, which is generally dubbed as other-worldly, in order to apply it to mind which belongs to this world. It is after all the logical significance of the concept that counts ; and our logic should be a logic of facts. The concept of organism, however well it satisfied the ideal of ordinary logic, is inapplicable to mind, simply because the fact here is not an organism and refuses to accept the concept. Sir James Jeans tells us that the creator must be a mind like ours, for nature which he created is mathematically designed and we too think mathematically. But he has not considered this peculiarity of mind. If he had he would have said that, the creator must be a free being who superposes nature upon himself. In fact, wherever the existence of a whole is given priority, we find the rigour of the concept of organism slackened. For example, according to McTaggart, even a stone can be an organic unity ; for a stone cannot exist as such if any of its parts or aspects is lost.³ But certainly this is to deprive the concept of its peculiarity. The orthodox upholders of the concept of organic unity would express surprise at McTaggart's idea. But there is some truth in what he says. Taking any fact as seen, we should admit that it cannot be what it is if it loses any of its parts. And every aspect, as an aspect of that particular thing, depends for its nature upon the rest. McTaggart could say that this is an organism because he started with existence and not with certain universals and their

¹ Cf. Bradley : *Appearance and Reality*, p. 322, footnote

² Cf. the idea of *vivarta* as a peculiar causal relation between the Brahman and the world.

³ *Nature of Existence*, Vol. I, p. 157.

mutual implications, and then attempt to find out whether these can be found in existent things. So far as we are dealing with existence, implication should be treated as dependent and based upon existence and not *vice versa*. Then it reduces itself to co-existence. Mutual implication implied in the orthodox conception of organic unity means that it is contradictory if one of the parts of an organism does not exist when others exist. That is, when the existence of one is assumed, it would be contradictory to think of the non-existence of the others. Thus the concept of organism is an application of the law of contradiction. But as regards actual things it is admitted even by Western idealist logicians ¹ that whether two predicates are contradictory or not, whether they are opposed or not, can be known only by actual experience. But experience can never give us a universal law ; a universal can be true only if it is *a priori* ; so that pure organism like a pure mathematical figure becomes an abstraction.

McTaggart himself has overlooked one important point. The cognitive or logical analysis, on the basis of which he can regard a stone as an organism, never loses sight of the individuality or integrality of the whole, and makes divisions in it which certainly can never be exhaustive, so that the analysis is into a whole and a part superposed on it. The relation between one part and another is treated by him as organic because what we see together we cannot see otherwise. But this is not generally said to be organic. To say that it is organic will only lead to confusion.

IV

Now, when we come to mind, greater difficulties have to be faced ; for here we do not have all the parts at once, though the whole is always available. This whole has to be treated as higher than the organic whole. It may be called the supra-organic whole or, in negative terms, a non-dualistic whole, not in the sense that there are no such other wholes, but in the sense that there is no internal division in it. It is, however, better to call it supra-organic and keep the word non-dualistic for the Brahman, as the latter word is used generally in the

¹ Bradley : *Principles of Logic*, Vol. I, p. 115 ; and Creighton : *An Introductory Logic*, p 351.

sense of 'without a second.' The parts of the supra-organic whole are really its manifestations. It is the subject in the Hegelian sense, for this manifestation is due to the subject's own activity, and so a predicate put forth by the subject itself, and is not what is attached to it from outside. It is, of course, to be admitted as a fact that the demand of Hegel is not satisfied in the finite mind in each of its actions, but in many it is ; and that the Advaitin's Absolute is beyond any activity we can think of. But if the world has to be regarded as due to its activity, then this activity must be that of superposing the world upon itself. This activity is certainly not the manifestation of what is already contained in some form.

Below the organic comes the mechanical whole. In this though the parts depend upon each other and the whole functionally, yet for their existence they are independent of each other and of the whole. But the whole is dependent upon the parts for its existence. This kind of one-sidedness is not found in the organic whole. Both functionally and existentially the parts and the whole depend upon each other. Below all these comes the mere aggregate, in which both the whole and the parts are independent of one another functionally and existentially.

V

This relation of the individual and the superposed on it is not to be confused with that between substance and attribute or the thing-in-itself and its appearances. The thing-in-itself is completely inaccessible to us. Between the substance and the attribute the relationship is certainly closer, for the attribute is certainly the substance as it appears to us.¹ But that which is superposed is not the individual on which it is superposed. Yet the existence of the former is really the existence of the latter. For instance, the physical image has no existence except that of the mind ; but the image is not really the mind.

The truest type of judgment, according to Bradley and Bosanquet, in spite of their polemic against the scientific method that it deals with abstractions, is the scientific one, namely, the universal or hypothetical,² They did not realise that they themselves have before them

¹ See H. H. Joachim : *A Study of the Ethics of Spinoza*, pp. 15, 18.

² See C. R. Motris : *Idealistic Logic*, p. 153 ; and H. H. Joachim : *The Nature of Truth*, p. 168.

the same abstract ideal of explanation as that of science, namely, the mathematical. Their logic ended with the construction of individuals out of universals,¹ and consequently the singular is placed on the level of the universal. But if the discussion is true, the highest judgment should not be the scientific judgment, but the individual judgment. In the universal judgment, which is abstract, the subject has no more weight than the predicate, and is as abstract as that. So the relation between the two can well be regarded as organic, pointing to a whole that goes beyond the subject and the predicate. And the relation between the whole and the subject and the predicate too would be organic, because the whole is a system of such universal judgments. Naturally a logic in which the universal or the hypothetical judgment is the highest cannot be an adequate instrument for explaining a situation where individuality is concerned. If we admit, after the above discussion, that mind has a peculiar nature of its own and that it must be so recognised, and that mind is the highest type of existence we know, then the individual judgment should be given the highest place. Even the disjunctive judgment does not suit it. For the disjunctive judgment,² Bosanquet tells us, is a combination of the generic and the hypothetical, and is fully expressive of organic unity between the alternative predicates and the subject. Even if we grant what Bosanquet says, this judgment is not applicable to mind because of the infinite possible predicates that the latter can manifest. But the alternatives are exhaustive in the disjunction of Bosanquet, and unless they are exhaustive and exclusive, disjunction cannot express organic unity. The judgment about mind may be treated as a disjunction if the alternatives are necessarily neither exhaustive nor exclusive. Even then the above one-sided relation has to be emphasized and the subject treated as an individual.

Now, on whatever mind looks it sees an individual, and the judgment it makes of everything is expressive of the idea of superposition. Not only in such judgments as "He is good" but also in judgments like "The rose is red" it sees an individual and something superposed on it. But it is possible to make abstractions from what we actually see, and perceive between those abstractions new kinds of relations, and these relations may be not only organic but also mechanical and accidental. The ideal of logic, therefore, is not that of an

¹ Cf. Pringle-Pattison : *The Idea of God*, pp. 266.

² B. Bosanquet : *Logic*, Vol. I, p. 327.

organic unity or of a closed system of judgments, but of a unity that remains unbroken in spite of differences. As this unity is prior in the sphere of mind it can have scope for infinite possible differences. And because these differences are never exhausted, the unity is never their organic unity. All that logic has to do is to treat this unity as prior and see that it is never broken by conflicting differences.

VI

Hence not only as expressive of mind and its so-called parts, but also as expressive of the nature of judgments made by mind, the idea of superposition is significant. This idea has been worked out with rigorous consistency in the Advaita of Śaṅkara, which is the crowning phase of Indian philosophical thought. What place can we give to that idea in the world of metaphysics to-day? We find that it is especially expressive of the nature of individuality that is mental. In this significance it is a concept that seems to be completely new to Western thought. It has been unfairly criticised by some both in India and outside without understanding its true significance. It gives us a new kind of whole and part, a whole higher than the organic. It cannot be well appreciated unless we set aside our bias towards a particular method of philosophical explanation, and see existence as such. After observing a particular aspect of existence and making an extensive abstraction, we should not expect that every existence should conform to this abstraction. If, as Wittgenstein tells us, existence itself is a mystery,¹ it would be highly preposterous to press all forms of existence into one. Nor can we say why there are so many of its forms. All that we can and should do is to understand and recognise each form and its peculiarities, and point out the relations and differences, if any, between them. Logical positivism, as a system of philosophy, is destined to failure if it claims to tell us about existence. Russell says that "pure mathematics can never pronounce upon questions of actual existence: the world of reason, in a sense, controls the world of fact, but it is not at any point creative of fact, and in the application of its results to the world in time and space, its certainty and precision are lost among approximations and working hypotheses." When the attempt is made to make logic as formal as mathematics, logic loses

¹ *Tractatus Logico Philosophicus*, 6.4321.

² *Mysticism and Logic*, p. 69.

touch with existence. Such a logic, as it deals with only possible in abstraction, has no right to dictate to existence. Its pronouncements upon existence would, therefore, have to be taken with caution. Eaton tells us that Russell has changed his view and holds that mathematics is based upon existence.¹ Even then it is an abstraction from existence, and idealised, and the whole existence cannot be made to fit into it. Logical positivism, if we take Mr. A. J. Ayer's book, can really have no place for the genuine individual. And the admirers of this virulent school of contemporary thought which Mr. Ayer represents may not be able to appreciate the idea of superposition and may treat it as metaphysical and so without sense. But the scope of this school of philosophy is very narrow, and it is not a wonder if any idea that falls beyond its scope be treated as unphilosophical and illogical by it. Mr. Ayer tells us that the function of a philosopher is "to clarify the propositions of science by exhibiting their logical relationships and by defining the symbols which occur in them."² We cannot enter into a detailed criticism of this school of thought now. But the fundamental question is whether the definitions of symbols have to be based on the nature of existence, and, if they are not, whether the various forms of existence exhibit the relationships which are deemed logical by this school. The propositions of logic and of mathematics, Mr. Ayer writes, are *a priori*, and are expressive of relations of ideas. If these propositions are not based upon existence, and if sciences deal with existence, what guarantee is there that the propositions of science would exhibit logical relationships? Are we to regard those sciences as true sciences which exhibit these relationships and treat the rest as metaphysical? Or to put the whole as one question, what is the relation between the empirical and the *a priori*? In Mr. Ayer's book we do not find a solution of this. He says: "I require of the empirical hypothesis, not indeed that it should be consciously verifiable, but that some possible sense-experience should be relevant to the determination of its truth or falsehood. If a putative proposition fails to satisfy this principle, and is not a tautology, then I hold that it is metaphysical, and that, being metaphysical, it is neither true nor false, but literally senseless."³ But

¹ *General Logic*, p. 23.

² *Language, Truth and Logic*, p. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

are not all metaphysical propositions, even those of the highest speculative systems, based upon and start from our sense-experience, and so extensions of generalisations based upon it ? These extensions may not be made by the same logical method as that which the school of logical positivism adopts. But who is to decide and how to decide between the two logics ? If our logic is to be the logic of fact, then the *a priori* should somehow be connected with the empirical, that is, with existence. But how this can be done Mr. Ayer has not shown. Further, are we to treat all those experiences which are not sense-perceptions as incapable of scientific study ? Is not imagination to be scientifically studied by psychology ? If it is, why should an exception be made in this case ? There seems to be no other reason why any experience should be excluded from scientific study than that of some pre-conceived narrow conception of logic and science. The ordinary logical and scientific methods may be extended, and sometimes should be modified, to cover all our experiences and all forms of existence. There can really be nothing to prevent us from adopting the idea of superposition and applying it to the sphere of mind. We should not distort facts to fit them into our logic. Otherwise, we court disaster by making a misconstrued philosophy the guide of our lives.

The treatment of the subject is not psychological. So I have not referred to the psychological theories of mind. I have not raised even the question whether there is an entity called mind. I have not started with a definition of mind, because we are just enquiring into its nature from our own standpoint. Just like life, mind is an intuition and then an interpretation. One who questions the existence of mind can as well question the existence of life, as some materialists do. To him the only answer we can give is that if he were not a mind, he could not have questioned its existence. It is a unique type of existence, and this paper does not question it, but tries to point out its peculiarity when compared to the realms of organic and inorganic being. Further, I have not differentiated in this paper between the self and the mind. Nor is the word *mind* used in the sense of *manas* or *antahkaraṇa* of Indian philosophy. It is used in the general sense of the phenomenal self or *jīva*. The Advaita applies the concept of superposition in the relation between the Brahman and the world. This paper advocated its application to the relation between the mind and its so-called parts or elements. In the interests of the individuality of mind and its freedom this new way of regarding mind

is offered for consideration. If ever mind is to be considered an entity that initiates activity out of itself, its activity should be regarded as that of superposition. Gentile treats mind as a pure act of positing the world. In his system the difference between the finite and the transcendental mind is not made sufficiently clear. When we are dealing with the finite mind, we need not go the whole length with him. Taking the consciousness of the finite mind that it is all through having a continuous existence, we should say that it is a fact as well as an act which superposes ideas, etc., upon itself.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES IN INDIA

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THE word anthropology conveys to the mind of the lay man a vision of skulls and measuring tools. The Germans, it is true, restrict the term to the study of the human body in its various aspects. But the English-speaking scientists define the two important aspects of the subject as Physical Anthropology and Cultural Anthropology. This last mentioned division includes within its scope a study of material culture of man—early, primitive as well as modern; of human society; and religion. Apart from the academic value of anthropological research, the applications of the knowledge gathered by the field-worker and analysed by the theorist, are manifold. For example, to illustrate our case, we need not go outside India.

The total aboriginal tribal population in our country is in the neighbourhood of forty millions. Their social and economic regulations are often very different from that of their Hindu or Moslem neighbours. The administrator has, however, to decide cases among such people, with the help of the existing codified laws, and such relaxations as are permitted in special areas. But how is he to use the discretion granted to him? There are of course the volumes on Tribes and Castes by Risley, Crooke, Thurston and others. But, although they help to a certain extent, their guidance is inadequate. Far more details are necessary for proper administration of justice. Again, some insight into the mental make-up of such people is necessary for smooth working of the machinery of administration itself.

At the last session of the Science Congress, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy mentioned how in Chotanagpore a police officer had mistaken a genuine tribal organisation for an unlawful assembly. He mentioned also an instance when he succeeded in settling a very serious dispute over a flag among Oraons, through his intimate knowledge of that people.

A particular social group had taken a speedy modern vehicle of transport—a railway train or a car—as the symbol on its flag. Another similar group had infringed on this right and a riot was imminent at the gathering where the two groups met. The official wanted to strengthen the local police force and use it—against the assembled

and hostile groups. But Sarat Babu advised against this step being taken, and removed the cause of trouble by presenting a flag with an aeroplane painted on it to the aggrieved party.

Unfortunately, intensive field work, such as is needed, has been done only in Assam and Chotanagpore, with occasional work elsewhere. The primitive tribes of the rest of India have been studied very little.

At the present moment, especially, such study is very necessary. The Ministers in charge of Education in most of the provinces want to educate the masses. But, what system of general education and what kinds of handicraft are best suited to the people? There is no doubt available a general knowledge of the needs and requirements of the Hindu and Moslem peasantry, and city folk. But what is known about the primitive tribes? Practically nothing. They form, however, a large proportion of our population. One single large tribe, the Santals, number over two millions and a half. Yet all that is known about their economic and social organisation and religious ideas is to be found in a few papers by two missionaries and in several chapters of a popular book by a member of the Indian Civil Service. Undoubtedly they throw valuable light on their mental outlook. But the total amount of information available in all these works gives a very incomplete picture of the people and their mental make-up. In order to remove this deficiency with regard to this numerous tribe, a study of their manners, customs and condition has been recently taken up by the Anthropology Department of the Calcutta University. Some work has also been commenced on primitive tribes in other areas by the Lucknow University under the guidance of Dr. D. N. Majumdar and, quite recently, in Bombay. But the rest of the Indian Universities and administrative authorities have not so far taken any step to remedy this defect in our knowledge of our own people.

Take, again, the question of fusing the heterogeneous elements in our population into a common nationality. Federation is a catchword glibly used by many. But what are the kinds of units that you are going to federate? India may roughly be divided into a dozen more or less culturally homogeneous provinces. But even inside these provinces there are elements which differ. It is not sufficient to state that Great Britain itself has at least three people—the English, the Scotch and the Welsh, not to speak of the immigrant Jewish and other folks—in an area of the size of a province of India. The forces of disintegration that are inherent in such a complex population may

be held in abeyance by temporary common economic interests ; but real unity can be achieved only by a common cultural content and common economic interests. The problem of our nation builders is, therefore, to see how this can be attained in the case of the Hindu, the Moslem and the Christian population, as well as the primitive tribes. But how can a common cultural content or interest be aimed at if nothing or, at most, only a little is known of the culture or organisation of a good portion of the people whose outlook on life is to be modified ? Under such circumstances how can it be possible to employ any healthy and effective means to change the culture ? A blind attempt to " improve " such folk more often does greater harm than good. The destruction of the traditional basis of such societies may merely set the tribe or people drifting on to a state either of lifelessness or an acceptance of the pursuit of pleasure as the ideal in life. These are not idle fears, as every student of anthropology is aware. In Chotanagpore Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, and in Assam Prof. Wm. Smith who is a missionary as well as a trained sociologist, have given instances, in their work, of the harmful effects of attempts " to improve " tribal customs in general, by administrators and missionaries. No one doubts the good intentions of these missionaries and administrators. But the result of their attempts has not been happy, to put it mildly. Mistakes were made, which a knowledge of the culture of the people and the mechanism of culture changes would have helped to avoid. The late Dr. Rivers pointed out long ago how well-meaning reforms by administrators have taken away the zest for life itself in certain areas in Melanesia. He noted that the islands where Europeans have not been able to leave any impress show signs of vitality in contrast generally to those influenced by Europeans. The only exception is where a powerful new interest has replaced the old interest. This psychological factor requires to be noted by those who would seek to improve and ameliorate the condition of primitive people in our country as elsewhere.

I have so far been referring to our primitive people and the need of studying them in their own interest from the point of view of nation-building. A study of the subject of anthropology is, however, of much greater importance for educational purposes. Students of the child-mind and child-behaviour have for some time been aware that there is among children a proportion who is definitely below the average in intelligence, though such children are by no means

mental defectives. Such children, who are known as of category B to those who employ intelligence tests, generally show themselves quicker in handwork than in intellectual studies and often can find self-expression easily through such media. Experience in schools has shown that educational handwork is also helpful in the earlier stages, in school in stimulating the mind through hand and eye co-ordination not merely of these backward children, but of the average and the intelligent. At the present time we do not believe that the human child repeats in its infancy the history of its race ; but the data from the best modern schools definitely suggest that the type of stimuli and activities which helped in the evolution of the brain of man, calls forth an appropriate response from the human-child more easily than those based on abstract knowledge gathered in historical times.

A careful study of the history of extension of neokinesis and organisation of neokinetic control in the human brain is likely to place educational theories on much firmer basis. They are likely to indicate lines on which really progressive schools may be built up, where the environment will be such as to ensure proper stimulation of the human brain and secure progressive development of the people and its culture. We in India have so far paid very little heed to this aspect of the study of anthropology.

Another branch of anthropology—the study of material culture and economic organisation of primitive peoples—may help greatly in such educational work. Handicrafts taught in the lower forms of schools for manual training are not linked up with social or intellectual work, even in the best modern schools. The result is a lack of integration between the two types of work done in school now-a-days. If, however, the handicrafts are learnt and practised against a background of primitive culture where they naturally belong, this defect can be removed. Each nation, it is needless to add, can do this well only with reference to primitive peoples best known to it. This requires, of course, a careful survey of the material culture and economic basis of the local primitive groups.

All the aspects of anthropological study are, therefore, of value in national welfare work. It is hoped that those who wish to look after the welfare of our people in India will realise the importance of such studies. It is also desirable that the Governments of the different provinces should realise the necessity of employing men trained in anthropological work as administrators in tribal and backward areas.

PHILOSOPHY IN JOHN KEATS

M. TAHIR JAMIL, M.A.

I

A DEQUATE homage has been paid by critics to John Keats, the youngest of the group of romantic poets, for his created "paradise of art and beauty," wonderful workmanship and witchery of words in which no one excelled him except Shakespeare. But his greatness does not depend upon his unusual "sensual receptivity," the creation of charming images, the powerfully realistic description of nature, and the felicity of expression. He too, like other great poets, reveals that inner vision with the help of which a genius enters into the life of things, and grasps the permanently deep meaning of the Universe. But unfortunately, Keats has suffered here most at the hands of his admirers. They regard him merely as a poet of sensuous perfection, intoxicated with the charm and appeal of the sensuous world. Even critics of distinction have committed the mistake of confining their attention to the most patent side of the genius of Keats, overlooking the wealth of philosophical thought that runs like an under-current in his works.

When we affirm this, we do not claim with Mr. Lynch that "Keats was a philosopher first, and a poet afterwards."¹ This is not only an over-statement of facts, but it places Keats in the second rank of poets with whom the Muse came as a subsidiary pursuit. On the contrary, Keats was a poet first and always. That was the chief passion of his heart, and he devoted all his powers and energies to that end. He can best be called, as Mr. Clutton-Brock calls him, "a philosophic poet" though according to the confession of the poet himself, as late as March, 1818—

"My flag is not unfurled
On the admiral staff, and to philosophise
I dare not yet."²

The attitude of Keats towards philosophy was not very enthusiastic in the beginning. There is no evidence to show that he ever read the works of abstract thinkers. They did not find a place in his

¹ The John Keats Memorial Volume, p. 128.

² "Epistle to Reynolds."

subjects of study. His predilection, at first, did not lie so much in the satisfaction of reason as in sensation and intuition upon which he placed the greater emphasis. The axioms of philosophy were to be proved upon the pulses before he would accept them as such. "O for a life of sensation rather than of thought," he wrote to Bailey in his letter of November 22, 1817, and till then that was his attitude towards knowledge. His growing zeal for the acquisition of knowledge, however, seems to have induced him to include metaphysics in his future programme of studies. The craving for philosophy is first expressed in the little poem, "*On Seeing a Lock of Milton's Hair*," where he patiently looks forward to the time when he might "grow high-rife "

" With old philosophy
And mad with glimpses of futurity."

By April of 1818 Keats found himself hovering " between an exquisite sense of the luxurious, and a love for philosophy," and wrote to Taylor: " Were I calculated for the former, I should be glad. But as I am not, I shall turn all my soul to the latter." Finally when his mind was made up on this point he wrote to Reynolds: " I . . . shall learn Greek and very likely Italian . . . and in other ways prepare myself to ask Hazlitt in about a year's time the best metaphysical road I can take." It was fortunate that he never took this step which, we believe, would have taken away from his poems the freshness that has made them popular, and would have substituted in its place a dogmatic and didactic tendency. We remember the tragedy that had befallen Coleridge the poet with the growth of Coleridge the philosopher. As things were, he was free from the narrow " specialistic " theories of schoolmen, and wanted poetry to be free from the taint of creeds, and systems of abstract reasoning. The substance of his own philosophy is not to be found in general philosophic doctrines but in the emotional results and spiritual intensification and refinement, " the fine thread (of which was) drawn from his ever-strengthening ego." ¹ He put these in his utterances as naturally as they came, with no pretension to preach. He neither disputes nor asserts anything, but simply " whispers results " to his readers with the ease and naturalness of a bird singing. We are inclined to think that in the following lines in "*What the Thrush Said* " the poet intends to contrast the natural

¹ Amy Lowell : *John Keats*, II, p. 232.

ease of a poet who sings purely through intuitive ecstasy, with the one who places before himself a definite didactic aim. He says:

" O fret not after knowledge, I have none,
And yet my song comes native with the warmth.
O fret not after knowledge! I have none,
And yet the evening listens."

While the one succeeds in his effort, the other fails by over-loading the wings of poesy with the richness of his lore. He was so averse to the doctrinaire in poetry that when he found Wordsworth " too doctrinal and pedagogic " in his poems, he raised his cry of protest in the following emphatic terms, notwithstanding the profound respect he had for the elder poet. He wrote: " For the sake of a few fine imaginative or domestic passages, are we to be bullied into a certain philosophy engendered in the whims of an egotist? Every man has his speculations, but every man does not brood and peacock over them till he makes a false coinage and deceives himself. Many a man can travel to the very bourne of Heaven, and yet want confidence to put down his half-seeing . . . we hate poetry that has a palpable design upon us, and, if we do not agree, seems to put its hand into its breeches pocket. Poetry should be great and unobtrusive, a thing which enters into one's soul." ¹

It cannot, however, be denied that in many utterances of Keats there are deep philosophical thoughts that remind us of Plato amongst the ancients, and Kant and Hegel amongst the moderns. Colvin and Bradley are most emphatic when they deny any reading of Plato on the part of Keats, but it is an exaggeration to say that he did not even know that Plato " had written of beauty as well as truth." ² He was thoroughly conversant with Spenser, and the influence of the " *Four Hymns* " of Spenser cannot be denied. That must have been his introduction to the creed of Platonic Beauty and Love. Then the circle of his friends included an ardent Platonist like Shelley, and he must have imbibed from him a good deal of Platonic philosophy, though his knowledge must have been entirely second-hand, picked up in the course of discussions and talks. In " *Endymion*," for example, there is much of Plato—the reaching to an ideal after passing through the various stages of perfection with the help of the real.

¹ " Letter to Reynolds," February, 1818.

² A. C. Bradley : *A Miscellany*, pp. 191-192.

He has also, in many places, referred to things as images or "shadows," and reality as a vast "Idea." It has led some critics to the belief that the poet's conception of Beauty, throughout, was that of an "Idea" of which the Universe and everything in it were symbols. In the beginning we find a very strong leaning in Keats towards this Platonic conception, but gradually he seems to be drifting closer towards the transcendental conception of the "Absolute" working in and through the real. He too conceived of the universe as a unit and suggested the existence of an unseen world which could be unlocked only with the help of imagination and intuition. It was through that faculty alone that man seized the truth about the supra-sensuous reality, and understood, to some extent, the inner plan of the Universe. The objects of the extraneous world he did not regard with Plato as reflection or prototype, but as the integral part of concrete Reality. Thus we find in him a nearer approach to the Hegelian theory of the Absolute which accepts the sensuously real as a part and a symbol of the Ideal, vitally important in the scheme of the Universe. He brings to us the finite with "the breath and spirit of the Infinite," and reveals to us the divine and eternal laws through the "visible and the present phenomena." The most complete and definite declaration of the metaphysical faith of Keats we have in his letter to his brother George where he speaks of the "Vale of Soul-making." We shall discuss that letter in some other place, but we may note here that it bears testimony to the fact that there was in him a growing expansiveness of sympathy, and that his genius had begun to rise beyond the senses "to the spiritual and more permanent elements of human nature."¹ He was reaching out for a philosophy that faced "fearlessly the problem of human destiny"² and shaped "its own interpretation of life,"³ but, being conscious of the imperfections of human nature, he always veiled his vision in order to conform to the standard of sanity of the worldings, and to make his message understood.

In religion, Keats shared the general scepticism of his contemporaries, but developing a non-militant temperament, he did not wage war against it as Shelley and Byron did. He possessed a strongly religious nature, but his attitude towards any particular form of it was

¹ F. M. Owen : *John Keats—A Study*, p. 2.

² Bernard Groom : *Selections from Keats*, Introduction, p. xv.

³ *Ibid.*

one of indifference. He neither had any quarrel with the Church, nor thought himself to be in a position to dogmatise. He smilingly passed it by in order to create his own world of Beauty and Loveliness which he believed to be the universal religion. This passive attitude of Keats is best expressed in his letter to Bailey where he wrote : " You know my thoughts on Religion. I do not think myself more in the right than other people, and that nothing in this world is proveable. As tradesmen say, everything is worth what it will fetch, so probably every mental spirit takes its reality and worth from the ardour of the pursuer—being in itself a Nothing. Ethereal things may at least be thus real, divided into three heads—Things real—things semi-real—and Nothings. Things real, such as the existences of sun, moon, and stars and passages of Shakespeare,—Things semi-real, such as love, the clouds, etc., which require a greeting of the Spirit to make them wholly exist,—and Nothings, which are made great and dignified by an ardent pursuit." The passage gives the various stages in one's intellectual growth, and Keats having passed from the first and the second stage seems to be standing on the threshold of the final stage when his career closed. Although he called the reality removed from the immediate knowledge of man as " Nothings," yet it was in that region that he pictured the ideal, and endeavoured to find " some stable spiritual ground where he may rest in peace." ¹ There is a diffused spirituality in " *Endymion* " and " *Hyperion* " which is not circumscribed within the narrowing creed of a religion. He was so taken up by the idea of the essence that he could not tarry to discuss its various form. His " far-reaching " power and " prophetic insight " enabled him, from time to time, to participate in a wider range of existence, and bring with him from that region " a breath as if from paradise."

In the poems, consequently, there is no reference to Christianity. He respected the ethical principles of the faith but he did not subscribe to its dogmas. In some of his poems, there are expressions of disgust at the current cant and hypocrisy of religious observances which blinded the followers to the real spirit of the faith they professed. His sonnet, " *The Church Bells Toll a Melancholy Round*," shows his genuine resentment at religious practices that tear men away from the enjoyment of the glories of the earth, and subject them to " other gloominess " and " dreadful cares." With his fellow-bards he too

¹ Amy Lowell : *John Keats*, I, p. 601.

looked forward to the time when the institution of superstitious beliefs would die "like an outburned lamp," and men would be once more alive to the charm of "fresh flowers," "and many glories of immortal stamp." He could not think of a religion devoid of the sense of Beauty and unappreciative of loveliness wherever found.

Belief in the Deity is very clear in many of the poems of Keats. God is conceived not only as the Great Maker of the Universe, but also as a mighty Intelligence that gives unity to all. Human minds are sparks thrown out of that Intelligence, and their effort should be to perfect their identity "so as to approximate more closely to the Divine Essence." About Christ, he wrote in one of his letters: "He was so great a man that though he transmitted no writing of his own to posterity, we have his Mind and his sayings and his greatness handed to us by others. It is to be lamented that the history of the latter was written and revised by Men interested in the pious fraud of Religion. Yet through all this I see his splendour." The statement reveals the unprejudiced conviction of Keats as to the essentials of spiritual greatness, though it shows his growing alienation from sectarian doctrines.

The basic principles of his personal religion were "the principle of Beauty" and "the wisdom of virtue," beyond which he never cared to wander. Adoration of Beauty was his only guide of conduct and the only means of discerning the truth. A character that could once enter into this creed was, to Keats, immune from all temptations, evils, and wrongs. Its only impulse would then be to achieve the beauty of divine perfection which would serve as the most exalted and unerring law of conduct. He believed that humanity was slowly progressing towards that end with the help of the great intellectual evolution that was going on. Man, who stood midway between the divine and the brute, was to grow with the help of his superior intellect into a full divine being. He was to cultivate a disinterested and spontaneous taste for morality in order to make his nature harmonious and beautiful. Thus developed, he would be able to do away with the cold and calculating conscience and would unerringly do the right. It is the same kind of perfection that was dreamt of by Wordsworth in his "*Ode to Duty*," but while he called it by the name of Duty, Keats conceived it to be the intuitive perception of Beauty. It is not the "stern law-giver," something arbitrary, though it effects a similar triumph over the forces of evil. It makes its

appeal through its very loveliness, and brings about a complete purification of the mind by concentrating its attention upon the higher and eternal value of things, upon the " Idea " of Divine Beauty.

Keats wavered between faith and doubt with regard to the doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul. His early leaning was towards that supporting belief. It approximated closely to Shelley's doctrine of the unreality of the world. In the little poem, "*On Death*," written in 1814, Keats definitely states that the moral life on earth is nothing but a vision which passes away with the close of earthly existence, and man awakens into Reality by the cold touch of Death. He says:

" Can death be sleep, when life is but a dream,
And scenes of bliss pass as a phantom by ?
The transient pleasures as a vision seem,
And yet we think the greatest pain's to die.
How strange it is that man on earth should roam,
And lead a life of woe, but not forsake
His rugged path ; nor dare he view alone
His future doom which is but to awake."

The poem assumes an immortal future destiny, and a continuity of existence both before and after the worldly career of the soul. Death is not a sleep but the real awakening into consciousness of the soul that has slumbered, with regard to spiritual things, during its sojourn upon earth. In the sonnet, "*As from the Darkening Gloom*," he definitely tells us about the flight of the soul to

" the realms above,
Regions of peace and everlasting love,"

and regards it as a great consolation for humanity against griefs and sufferings that " our joy impairs." But curiously enough, in his letter to Bailey, written in November, 1817, he says that the pleasures of the next world would be " what we called happiness on Earth repeated on a finer tone." These statements may be taken as definite expressions of the poet's conviction regarding the destiny of the human soul for which there awaited some kind of pleasurable existence. But we are not inclined to think that Keats very seriously believed those pleasures to be of a mundane nature though of a finer tone. It is the philosophy

of Sense-idealism which regards life as made up of material comforts, and Heaven as the prolongation of these for ever. It might have suggested itself to Keats at that early period of his life when the world of sensation attracted him most, but it never had a permanent influence over his thoughts.

The shock of his brother Tom's death in December, 1818, he withstood on the strength of this consoling doctrine, an indication of which we find in the letter that he wrote to his brother in America. There he states: " Sometimes I fancy an immense separation, and sometimes, as at present, a direct communication of Spirit with you. That will be one of the grandeurs of immortality. There will be no space and consequently the only commerce between spirits will be by their intelligence of each other—when they will completely understand each other, while we in this world merely comprehend each other in different degrees—the higher the degree of good so higher is our Love and Friendship." The soul is conceived here as an immortal essence which, after its release from the bondage of the flesh, will no more experience the limitations of space. It will be free to have direct spiritual communication with others, being unified in one intelligence. Even in this earthly career there are such moments of elevation when the spirit seems to transcend time and distance, and participate in the life and being of everything around it on account of its infinity.

However, with growing ill-health and despair of recovery the dark cloud of scepticism began to thicken, and Keats seems to have been uncertain about the doctrine of Immortality. He now longed for death which he regarded, if not as a haven of peace and rest, at least as the balm that would end his sufferings and sorrows. Some critics maintain that the belief in the immortality of the soul ebbed out of him gradually with the growing gloom, and refer to the lines in the "*Ode to the Nightingale*," where the poet says :

" Still wouldst thou sing, and I have ears in vain
To thy high requiem become a sod,"

as expressive of the poet's belief that death is the close of human existence. Such a distressingly uninspiring creed Keats could never entertain. It is evident that he is speaking here of the physical aspect of human existence, without any implication as to its spiritual future.

The belief seems to have been further fostered by the letter of Severn written from Rome, on January 15, 1821. It depicts the pitiable condition of Keats in the agony of death, and runs: "But above all, this noble fellow lying in the bed, is dying in horror,—no kind hope smoothing down his suffering, no philosophy—no religion to support him—yet with the most gnawing desire for it—yet without the possibility of receiving it." The picture seems to us to be overdone. That the mind of Keats was weighed down under the load of wretchedness cannot be doubted, that "I have coals of fire in my breast" is admitted by the poet himself, who was surprised at the wonderful capacity of the human heart to contain and bear so much misery. But the fact that the agony was due more to the shattered hopes of love and unrealised literary ambition than to the spiritual barrenness of the poet's mind is too patent to be missed. It was only two years previously that he had succeeded in formulating a definite philosophy of life which he expressed with full zeal and earnestness in his remarkable letter to George written in the spring of 1819. It postulates the continued existence of the soul after it finishes its earthly career, and an enjoyment of its well-earned reward by gaining identity with the Universal Soul. That, certainly, was not the passing mood of the poet, and there is no evidence to show that he modified the view at any later time. It was the anchor of hope for his troubled soul. As for the support of religion that Severn speaks of, it need only be pointed out that lying on his death-bed Keats frequently used to ask him to read aloud Jeremy Taylor's "*Holy Living and Dying*," and drew much peace and consolation from its Christian teachings.

Spenser kindled the dormant poetic genius of Keats which he was wasting as an apprentice for the medical profession. Himself a great votary of beauty and a disciple of Plato, he made direct appeal to the instinct for beauty in the young poet. He stimulated his imagination, and threw open to him the gates of a new world, of which he had been before but vaguely conscious. Once initiated into the delights of poetic composition, Keats began to write with growing ease, and published a collection of poems in 1817. It shared the fate of all juvenile attempts and met with much bitter and unjust criticism. The poet, nevertheless, remained undaunted, loyal in his devotion to his idol of poetic fame. "*Endymion*," a poetical romance, was, in the mean time, in the process of composition, and was given to the world a year later. It was followed by "*Isabella*," "*The Eve of St. Agnes*,"

"*Lamia*," "*Hyperion*," and the immortal "*Odes*," which were all published in 1820.

Nothing can be farther from the truth than to say that there is a complete "nullity of thought—worse, an insincerity of feeling"¹ in this first collection of poems. Of all men, Keats was the last person to feign what he did not feel. As to thought, we cannot expect a complete work of art from a young man of twenty-two. Nor can the wisdom of a sage be embodied in the words of a youth. Admitting frankly these shortcomings, the collection still reveals the birth of a child of poetic genius. The pieces reflect the many-sidedness of the poet's powers—from an artist in words in the school of Spenser, to the potential philosopher in verse, drawing his inspiration from Wordsworth and Coleridge.

Nature is the greatest topic in this volume that attracts the attention of the reader—Nature in her physical aspects, rich in beauty. Keats takes special pleasure in piling up images, and suffers on account of his over-luxuriance and somewhat childish over-earnestness. His study of Wordsworth had sharpened his early propensity for natural scenes. It has been voiced in the famous sonnet, "*To One Who has been Long in City Pent*," where he tells us what a joy and relief it is for one pent up in a city to enjoy the free sights of Nature when his heart would of itself feel delighted to breathe a prayer

"Full in the smile of the blue firmament."

In the presence of Nature Keats experiences the same genuine and unbounded joy as Wordsworth did in his earlier days. He holds his breath with a mixed feeling of wonder and delight, and seeks to enjoy her fully. From Wordsworth he had learnt the conception of Nature's silent harmony and strength, and finds in

"The songs of birds—the whispering of the leaves—
The voice of waters—the great bell that heaves
With solemn sound,"²

a "pleasing music and not wild uproar."³ To a casual passer-by they may be a jargon of confused notes, but in the very richness of their diversity Keats hears the symphony of a soul-stirring nature.

¹ Mary Suddard : Keats and Shelley Studies.

² Sonnet : "How Many Bards Gild the Lapses of Time,"

³ *Ibid.*

Their apparent discord appeals to him as one sweet note of harmony. One so keenly sensitive to the music in Nature could not be satisfied only with the joyful aspect of it, because it ceases in the heat of the sun and in the chilly winter days, while Nature's beauty and charm should continue unabated and unbroken. Keats, accordingly, discovers to his great joy and satisfaction that "the poetry of earth is never dead," and explains to us in the sonnet, "*On the Grasshopper and Cricket*," and later in the "*Ode to Autumn*," how the music of Nature is maintained, without a break, at all times and in all seasons. In her there exists a principle of permanence, and though her expressions may vary, yet the thread of harmony and beauty is never broken.

In the first collection of poems, therefore, we have the unbounded delight of the poet in the freshness of the meadows, brooks, and copses, in the beauty of the blossoms, in the song of the minstrels of Nature. These are mostly pleasures that make their appeal through the senses. We also trace signs of this joy being superseded, though at rare moments, by a vague sense of oneness throughout the universe. A struggling ray of light streams in from above, and catches the eye of the reader. We realise that external beauty does not cover the entire range of his genius. It is only the starting point. It excites his imagination by appealing to his feelings, and he is overwhelmed with a sense of her vastness, majesty, and grandeur. He is uplifted far above the present world, and becomes blissfully oblivious of self and his immediate environments. The call of the eternal seems to be already stirring his heart, and it comes from Nature herself.

Parallel to this, there is another mood which should also be noted. It is a gloomy and discouraging undertone. The objects of Nature do not always produce an inspiring effect. In his "*Epistle to George*," Keats says that there are occasions when, in order to gain inspiration, he surrounds himself with the traditional aids to poetic ecstasy but the mood does not come:

" Full many a dreary hour have I past,
My brain bewilder'd, and my mind o'ercast
With heaviness; in seasons when I've thought
No sphery strains by me could e'er be caught
From the blue dome, though I to dimness gaze
On the far depth where sheeted lightning plays;

Or, on the wavy grass outstretched supinely,
Pry 'mong the stars, to strive to think divinely."

The passage has the same depressing note as Coleridge's "*Ode to Dejection*." Both lament the failure of external objects to arouse in them a wave of ethereal thoughts, but while in Coleridge it is the wailing of a man over the dried fountain of his imagination, in Keats it is the impatience of Youth for something that it ardently expects, but which is delayed. Keats, by this failure, learns the most important lesson, that inspiration does not depend exclusively upon the objects. To a great extent it depends upon the mind itself, which, acting upon the data supplied by the senses, "spiritualises" them into sources of unearthly joy. It must bring to bear upon Nature the feelings of love and sympathy, and not remain merely a passive observer. The joy of inspiration will descend upon the soul only when there is established an interpenetration of spirit between Man and Nature. When this union is achieved, there will come a sudden glow upon everything in Nature, and the commonest object will be touched with an unearthly light. Dwelling momentarily in that mood of transporting bliss the poet sings:

"Fair world, adieu!
Thy dales, and hills, are fading from my view:
Swiftly I mount, upon wide-spreading pinions,
Far from the narrow bounds of thy dominions."¹

It is a state of complete emotional absorption when the poet flies in his dream-world, and the soul seems to be detached from the world of realities, with all its limitations and entanglements. But such a dissociating trance cannot last for a long time, and when the poet comes down to earth, he has advanced a step forward in his appreciation of Nature and the power of the human mind. In his next excursion into the fields, and over the lakes, he finds human emotions reflected in the various objects of Nature. She has now a half-human appeal, reciprocating the love and joy of Man. He has gone to her not only with the "eye prepared to scan Nature's clear beauty," but with a warm heart and a "healthful spirit eager and awake

"To feel the beauty of a silent eve."²

¹ "Epistle—To My Brother George."

² "Calidore: A Fragment."

And the reward is his. Without straining his senses uselessly, without any undue stretching of the imagination, in the poem "*I Stood Tiptoe*," the poet is unconsciously impressed by the peace and quiet in Nature around him, where "not the faintest motion could be seen." He lingers awhile to "watch intently Nature's gentle doings." His loving contemplation of objects, only casually observed before, makes him feel "a human joy, a human sorrow, throbbing through this newly-known beauty."¹ As the result of this appreciative perception there is established an unseen influx of "shapes from the invisible world," bringing into play man's power of imaginative creation, and works of abiding nature are achieved, such as the beautiful myths of ancient days and the utterances of great poets. It is Nature, therefore, whom Keats invokes in the following lines as the source of all inspiration :

" O Maker of sweet poets! dear delight
Of this fair world and all its gentle livers;

Thee must I praise above all other glories
That smile us on to tell delightful stories,
For what has made the sage or poet write
But the fair paradise of Nature's light ? " ²

The circumstances of this elevation of the spirit and the extent of its flight are, however, not inexplicable. Keats had wonderful powers of self-criticism. Perhaps his study of the sciences had engendered in him the desire to understand the inner workings of everything. Consequently, he analyses all his inward feelings, and explains their different stages in "*Sleep and Poetry*," a remarkable autobiographical poem contained in the first volume. Like the "*Tintern Abbey*" of Wordsworth, it is a chronicle of the development of the poet's mind, tracing it through the three stages of its growth. The divisions, as Mr. Bridges points out,³ are the same as in the elder poet, but we must note that the method is fundamentally different. Wordsworth, writing in the maturity of his intellect, was in a philosophising mood, while Keats is essentially objective in his treatment. Having only recently outgrown the first stage of the animal pleasures of boyhood,

¹ Mary Suddard : *Keats and Shelley Studies*, p. 25.

² "*I Stood Tiptoe*."

³ Robert Bridges : *An Essay on Keats* (in the *Poetical Works of John Keats*, edited by L. Binyon, pp. xvii ff.).

Keats reveals more interest and sympathy with them than the sage poet to whom they now appear as "coarse." The second stage is, what he calls in his letter to Reynolds (May, 1818), "the Chamber of Maiden-Thought," when "we become intoxicated with the light and the atmosphere, we see nothing but pleasant wonders, and think of delaying there for ever in delight. However, among the effects this breathing is father of is that tremendous one of sharpening one's vision into the heart and nature of Man—of convincing one's nerves that the world is full of Misery, and Heart-break, Pain, Sickness and Oppression" Contrasted with the fine and serious note in Wordsworth, we have in Keats sweet and simple deliciousness with all the intoxicating joy of youth which he was then experiencing. Miss Lowell calls it superficial and materialistic,¹ but, as Keats points out in the passage quoted, it is a stage when "we see nothing but pleasant wonders," and the poet has given here one of the most remarkable descriptions of ecstatic feeling in the midst of the unadulterated beauty of physical nature, with

"no need of a remoter charm,
By thought supplied."²

Under its spell, the soul seems to gain a moment of liberty from its earthly bondage, and the poet thinks of "delaying there for ever in delight," resting

"in silence, like two gems upcurled
In the recesses of a pearly shell."³

This intense communion with Nature will lead the poet to the third and the final stage of progress, which, however, he has not yet experienced. While Wordsworth tells us, "I have felt a Presence," to Keats it was only a dim distant vision, a "vast idea" that ever rolled before his eyes and was only beginning to take proper form. Consequently, the description is vague, full of uncertain conjectures about the future. He was like one groping in the dark passages of the "Chamber," occasionally feeling the "burden of the mystery" and catching the glimpse of the ideal as revealed by Nature. But the vision is too short-lived, and he sinks back into "a sense of real

¹ Amy Lowell : *John Keats*, I, p. 220.

² Wordsworth's "Tintern Abbey."

³ "Sleep and Poetry."

things " that threatens to bear his soul along to nothingness. He, however, grimly resolves that he " will strive

" Against all doubtings, and will keep alive
The thought of that same chariot, and the strange
Journey it went." ¹

The ambition set forth is a lofty one, and there is a restlessness in the poet's spirit. It feels the birth of " a wider and diviner growth " coming upon it, while it finds itself not yet fit enough to be " a glorious denizen " of that " wide heaven." Deep joy in sensuous reality has, nevertheless, prepared his soul for the perception of the spiritual. There have been moments when he has experienced a state of being different from ordinary life, and has heard the

" gentle whispering
Of all the secrets of some wondrous thing
That breathes about us in the vacant air," ²

and caught the " soft floatings from a faint-heard hymning." He also knows that when this higher life is reached, " a bowery nook will be elysium—an eternal book," the spirit will " discover vistas of solemn beauty " in humble and familiar things, and the bosom will be left " clean for his Great Maker's presence." It is the transcendental philosophy of life which places its real value and purpose in the realisation of such rare moments of being when the soul extends itself beyond phenomenal things and becomes conscious of the Absolute Reality. Keats was quick to realise the great potentiality of the soul, and determined not only to realise it for himself, but also to bring its truth home to his fellow-men, so that their spirits too might be awakened to " their native merit." It would " lift their thoughts " and open the windows of the magic casement, enabling them to behold beyond the provisional and conditioned universe into the realm of eternity. The task that the poet has set himself is gigantic and arduous, and though he is fully conscious of the necessity of patience and training, yet he cannot give it up:

" An ocean dim, sprinkled with many an isle,
Spreads awfully before me. How much toil!
How many days! what desperate turmoil!

¹ " Sleep and Poetry."

² *Ibid.*

Ere I can have explored its widenesses.
Ah, what a task ! upon my bended knees,
I could unsay those—no, impossible !
Impossible ! ”

In these words, Keats consecrated his genius to the positive task of serving humanity by teaching them the law of moral progress which was to be realised through aesthetic culture. That was to be the theme of his future musings, and he remained loyal to this determination till the end.

(To be continued)

DEMO-DESPOTOCRACY AND FREEDOM

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IN the formal logic of analytical political science it may be necessary and desirable to treat democracy as antithesis of despotocracy and despotocracy as antithesis of democracy. But in the normal *Gestalt* of living political forms and political relations democracy and despotocracy supplement and are really complementary to each other. These two groups of values constitute one socio-political complex. The recognition of this complex as a unit in the normal psychology of personality, both individual and collective, is indispensable at the present moment in the interest of clarification of political intelligence.

Among the *idolus* of the nineteenth century which the world is called upon to demolish in the twentieth none is more widespread and conventional than the notion regarding the exclusive or dichotomic character of these two sets of political phenomena. But the data about the factual character-complex of individuals or groups cannot afford to justify the social psychology of politics as handed down since the last century.

THE LEVIATHAN AND CONTRAT SOCIAL OF EVERY POLITY

In a psychological analysis of interhuman relations with special reference to political phenomena the Leviathan of Hobbes should appear to be a stern reality. And this reality should have to be appraised also as eternal and universal, *i.e.*, valid for all ages from the pre-historic epochs until today as well as for all ethnic races or human groups from the most primitive to the hyper-developed. Humanly speaking, it is nothing but force, which ultimately is translatable into sheer physical force, pressure, torture or power, that is at the bottom of the state, however crude, rudimentary, undeveloped or semi-developed, and its two great attributes, sovereignty and law. And wherever there is force there is despotocracy—even if it be on

* A paper for the First Indian Political Science Conference, Benares, December, 1938.

the moral or spiritual plane. For all practical purposes force and despotocracy are almost convertible terms. In other words, the state, sovereignty, law and the allied phenomena are by nature despotic. The *danḍa* (punishment, coercion, restraint or sanction) of which the old Hindu political theorists (Kautilya, Manu, Sukra and others) speak as identical in value with the *rājā* (the ruler or the state) is the basis of all societal existence. It is the instrument through which the Leviathan functions and furnishes the very life-blood of the *Staatsraeson* (reasons or requirements of the state) as analyzed in modern times by Meinecke.¹

If despotocracy is to be accepted psychologically as the very foundation of ordered group-life as belonging to the very nature of things, the question may be asked: Where, then, is the place for liberty, individuality, initiative, free will and democracy in the relations between human beings as individuals, groups or communities? Can there be such an item of life as *swaraj* (self-rule) in a system of human relationships which by nature is a function of Leviathanic *danḍa*, sanction and *Staatsraeson*?

The democratic element in every organization of human affairs is furnished by the consent of the individuals constituting its units. The consent is most frequently or rather virtually always tacit or undeclared. But it is impossible to imagine a social system in which consent of the members is not a factor. As soon as there is the play of consent there is the operation of interests, discriminations, selections and rejections. The psychological consent as inevitable in inter-human relations is objectively embodied in contract. As a social item contract may not be self-evident in every institution or express itself in a palpable or aggressive manner. But even in the most simple and primary group-formations, for instance, in the social relations between the individuals, however temporary or occasional they be, the consent of the one finds a *rapprochement* with the consent of the other partner as a matter of course. No contract (based as it is bound to be on consent), no group or no society. And once we are in a position to discern the existence of contract in a societal system, the presence of individuality, free will, liberty and democracy is to be admitted automatically.

¹ F. Meinecke: *Die Idee der Staatsraeson* (Munich, 1925), pp. 319-54, 452; O. Koellreutter: *Grundriss der Allgemeinen Staatslehre* (Tuebingen, 1933), pp. 54-57; B. K. Sarkar: *Political Philosophies since 1905* (Madras, 1928), pp. 165-66.

Democracy, therefore, is as stern, as eternal. and as universal or ubiquitous a reality in societal organizations as despotocracy. The two polarities constitute a moral unit in the *zwischenmenschliche Beziehungen und Gebilden* (interhuman relations and forms), to use an expression from von Wiese,² of all denominations. Hobbes's Leviathan represents then but a partial, one-sided, erroneous and misleading view of the human nature in politics. It is as inadequate and incomplete as Rousseau's *Contrat Social* which presents almost the exact opposite picture of interhuman relations. In a realistic analysis of political forms or societal forms of other varieties we should be approximating the truth if we were to detect simultaneously the despotocracy of Hobbes as well as the democracy of Rousseau. Politics, political organisms, political institutions are in reality the functions of democracy as multiplied by democracy. In Indian terminology human nature in politics should be envisaged as implying a system of relations in which *danda* (exercise of sanction or punishment) is influenced, modified and multiplied by *dharma*³ (observance of duty and justice). An undemocratic state is as great a contradiction in terms as an undespotocratic state. Democratic and despotocratic tendencies operate together, at the same time and in modification of each other in every political form and relationship.

Democracy and despotocracy are never absolute. Like all other moral and societal phenomena these are conditional, conditioned, limited and relative. Democracy can grow, say, from one to infinity. In the same manner despotocracy also can grow from one to infinity. Infinity is to be taken in the mundane sense, however. Democracy and despotocracy are like sovereignty and freedom to be understood as substances that admit of doses or degrees. Every polity = democracy \times despotocracy". Psychologically speaking, the "categorical imperative" of Kant, which is alleged to be universal and eternal, is untenable, however magnificent it be as a system of social norms or ethical duties. As against this universal imperative we have to be content with the factual relativities in norms and values. There are categorical imperatives and categorical imperatives. It is in the milieu of these moral relativities that we have to place the degrees

² L. von Wiese : *System der Allgemeinen Soziologie* (Leipzig, 1939), pp. 185, 384, etc.

³ For the doctrines of *danda* and *dharma* see B. K. Sarkar : *The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922).

or doses of democracy. An unalloyed democracy or an unalloyed despotocracy is like the universal imperative of the Kantian assumption or hypothesis to be looked for in a socio-ethical Nowhere.

On the other hand, the brutally sincere and factual psychology of Pareto's *Trattato di Sociologia Generale* (Florence, 1916) is acceptable which denies to human character a natural or necessary harmony, logicality or consistency. Exactly opposite principles may according to Paretian analysis co-exist in the individual or group life giving rise to contradictions and disagreements of all sorts. The presence of emotions, sentiments, passions and so forth in the same mental framework by the side of reason and intelligence is the most fundamental basis of the human *psyche*. It is because of such a discordant and incoherent as well as pluralistic mentality of individuals and groups that the coexistence of despotocracy and democracy finds its natural explanation.

DOSES OF FREEDOM IN THE BRITISH COLONIES AND DOMINIONS

In terms of human values democracy may be taken to be an expression of freedom. And freedom is objectively manifest in democracy. The doses or degrees of this freedom-embodied-in-democracy or democracy-as-a-form-of-freedom are nowhere more patent than in the different states constituting the British Empire or Commonwealth of Nations. The constitutions of the Dominions and the Colonies are undefinable in the simplicist categories of democracy pure and undefiled or of despotocracy pure and undefiled. Each one represents the permutation and combination of all sorts between these two polarities. The most varied types of demo-despotocracy are to be encountered from one end of this hemispheroidal museum of political anthropology and constitutional morphology to the other.

One extreme is represented by Bechuanaland Protectorate and Basutoland in Africa and Wei-hei-wei in North China as well as other Colonies, altogether ten in number, which are not provided with any legislative council. Then there are nine colonies like Hongkong in China, Uganda Protectorate, Northern Rhodesia and so forth in Africa where legislative councils are in existence but without election, all the members being nominated.

The islands of Fiji in the South Pacific and Jamaica and Trinidad in the Central Atlantic and the African Colony of Kenya are like eight

others furnished with legislative councils, of which membership is partly elective but the majority is compulsorily official. In the three Colonies, Ceylon, Cyprus and British Guiana, again, the legislative councils are partly elective but there is no obligation about the majority being official. Finally, the tiny Island groups, the Bahamas and the Bermudas off the East coast of the U.S.A. and the Barbados off Venezuela possess two houses each. The legislative assembly is elected but the legislative council is nominated.

All these 29 Colonies, peopled altogether by nearly 50 million inhabitants, roughly equal to the population of Bengal, scattered over an area of 2,000,000 square miles, are administered by the Colonial Secretary. In the formal logic of political science they are described as regions not possessing self-government. But evidently the Colonial Secretary representing as he does the Leviathanic principle is not the sole factor in these polities, and self-government is embodied in the assemblies and councils in some form or other.

The morphological varieties pointing as they do to the relativities, *i.e.*, doses or gradations of freedom-in-decocracy or democracy-in-freedom, are patent also in the regions like Malta which possesses responsible government in internal affairs but in external relations is controlled by the Secretary of State, and Southern Rhodesia where the government is responsible to the people but is subject to certain limitations regarding the indigenous Africans and is indeed described as a self-governing colony.

As for the full-fledged self-governing Dominions the limitations, however meagre, are embodied in the Secretary of State for the Dominions and the Statute of Westminster. It has to be admitted that charters of liberty, in so far as they are charters, are *ipso facto* documents of limitation, restriction and subjection. In other words, the freedom or sovereignty of the Dominions is not absolute but limited and relative.

THE CHAMBERLAIN-HITLER TÊTE-À-TÊTES AS EXPRESSIONS OF DEMO-DESPOTOCRACY

Equally obvious is the demo-despotocratic *Gestalt* in those states, which in external relations are hundred-per-cent. free, the so-called powers, great, medium or small. Contemporary political ideology chooses to describe Soviet Russia, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany as

totalitarian states. The creators of these states are proud to call themselves the destroyers of democracy. To be anti-democratic is in their own estimation not a vice but the utmost virtue conceivable. In common parlance these are known to be autocratic, authoritarian, dictatorial and despotic. On the other hand, the United Kingdom, France, the U. S. A., and a host of other states are by themselves appraised as democratic and by the rival system condemned as such.

Yet it should not be difficult to dive deep into modern Leviathans and detect their democratic foundations as it should be quite possible to be sure of the Leviathanic elements in the alleged democracies of today, as soon as we come down to their brass tags. In the last week of September, 1938 the dichotomy—democracy *vs.* totalitarian state—was very often in the air in connection with the Sudeten German problem of Czechoslovakia. Chamberlain was alleged to represent the democratic spirit while the antithesis was supposed to be embodied in Hitler the totalitarian. But the orientations of Chamberlain to the British people may however be analysed under the same conditions of temperature and pressure as those of Hitler to the German people. The democratic spirit of Chamberlain was perhaps apparent in his flying to and fro between England and Germany in order to talk it over with the British people. Humanly speaking, what was Hitler doing all this time? Most probably he was likewise consulting the *vox populi*.

The manner in which Chamberlain was discussing the international situation with the "people" is not much known to the world. In the same way, nor has the world been vouchsafed to know of the manner in which Hitler was taking it over with the people. Then, again, it may be surmized that the number of British individuals (and possibly institutions?) with whom Chamberlain came into creative contact during this period was not more than that of the Germans with whom Hitler is likely to have conferred. The world is by all means formally convinced that its peace has been saved virtually by the *tete-à-tetes* of two individuals. The professional democrat or anti-despot and the professional totalitarian despot or anti-democrat should appear then to have been made of the same psycho-political *Gestalt*.

The Leviathan has not yet been thoroughly swept off the British constitution. Nor is the *contrat social*, individual liberty, general

will, people's voice, democracy or freedom of the people, entirely silenced in the totalitarian *Staatsraeson* of the Nazis.

In spite of his traditional British ideology Chamberlain is a despotocrat. In spite of his Nazi philosophy Hitler is a democrat. Chamberlain knows how to ignore the British Parliament when he wills it. The British Cabinet is indeed an organ of despotocracy. Hitler has deliberately abolished *Parlamentarismus*. But he knows how to serve *vox populi* and obey the popular will

VOX POPULI IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA

India is neither an internationally free country like England, France, Germany or Japan, nor a Dominion of the British Commonwealth, nor even a Colony as understood in the British constitution. It is a dependency without camouflage of any sort, and the Indian polity is an embodiment of the total negation of freedom? Or, positively speaking, is it a specimen of the hundred-per-cent. Leviathanic *Gestalt*?

We ignore, for the time being, the relations of the British elements as operating in Indian with the British constitution in the U. K. We are interested in the rôle of the Indian people in the Indian polity. Let us psycho-analyze the Indian elements in the administration of India since, say, about the middle of the eighteenth century.

The power conferred on the British East India Company by the-then Indian "Emperor of India" (1755) was registered in a *firman* or charter which was by all means a document of *contrat social*, general will and *vox populi*. Submission to the exigencies of the times was forced upon the people, no matter what the exact number of the responsible and creative persons, as a deliberate and freely willed course of action. The transfer of power was an act of free choice on the part of the Indian peoples or princes. The people, the folk, the demos did not revolt against the transfer of power from one hand to the other. Nor did it seek to create a new destiny for itself by organizing an alliance with the French East India Company as the rival of the British.

Not only tacitly but in so many words did the people accept the position which gradually grew into one of dependency. It was not before the Wahabi movement (1825-40) of the Mussalmans or the Hindu-Moslem united events of 1857 that the free choice, general

will, *vox populi* and *contrat social* tried to express themselves in a contrary direction. The orientations of the folk or *vox populi* subsequently took a new form in the Indian National Congress (1885), the glorious *swadesi* revolution of 1905 and the consequent movements for *swaraj* (self-rule). The establishment of the Congress Government in most of the Indian provinces in 1937 exhibits the latest *Gestalt* in the expansion of *general will* or folk-power in the political *milieu*.

Verily, even in a dependency it is possible to detect the march of the demos or the folk from point to point and achievement to achievement. Freedom, therefore, has been growing, expanding, nay, broadening down from precedent to precedent in a sub-continent which possesses neither external freedom nor a Dominion status and is not even a Colony of the British type.

The analysis may be carried to the constitutional and administrative regulations relating to the Indian possessions of the British people since 1757. Each one of the diverse legislative Acts during this period of eighteen decades down to the Government of India Act (1935) is a document which registers step by step, perhaps inch by inch, the processes by which the despotocrat of the Leviathanic *Gestalt* is being influenced, controlled and modified by the forces operating from the people's side, *vox populi*, freedom, self-determination, rights of the masses, the illiterates and the poor. Even in an internationally subject country freedom-in-democracy or democracy-in-freedom is a psycho-political and socio-moral reality, and this freedom or democracy is capable of growth, expansion and evolution. Since the establishment of the Congress-*Raj* in 1937 in the majority of Indian regions the demand for freedom, more freedom and still more freedom has not ceased however. Young India to-day as the Young Indias of 1905 and 1885 is crying still :

We have climbed a height indeed,
But, alas, the highest is yet to come.

Freedom-in-democracy or democracy-in-freedom is then not absolute. It is a phenomenon of doses and degrees, it admits of "more or less," it changes forms and external modes of expression, it implies relativities in value. The other side of the psycho-political *Gestalt*, the despotic factor, the Leviathanic element also automatically follows suit. Despotocracy may very often appear to be absent or it may seem to be the most prominent. It may be once in a while much

too outspoken or at times pretend to be non-existent. The constitutional forms may consciously or unconsciously seek to hide it from public gaze in order to give a sop to the *intelligentszia* of a particular brand. But the psycho-analysis of political *Gestalt* cannot be bamboozled into the conviction that despotocracy is a thing of the past anywhere on earth.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AS EMBODIMENT OF DEMO-DESPOTOCRACY

The Indian National Congress itself, as a power, virtually an *imperium in imperio* to a certain extent, may be subjected to political psycho-analysis. Its constitution today in 1938 is factually almost as despoto-democratic or demo-despotic as it was when first called into being (1885).

The Congress High Command—the Leviathan of Indian freedom movement—has during the entire course of its history comprised from time to time just a few individuals or families, both Hindu and Moslem. These individuals or families are invariably those that represent Bodin's *les nerfs de la république*, the sinews of war, *i.e.*, bullion. The bullion has in certain regions, *e.g.*, Bengal, Bihar, U.P., etc., been mainly feudalistic-zamindari in origin. It has been derived to a certain extent from the upper rungs of the legal profession throughout India. The financial resources of the newly established industrial bourgeoisie—capitalistic individuals or families—have also been quite in evidence especially in Bombay.

Whatever be the source, it is this bullion and the power associated with it that have been lording it over the Congress movement from beginning to end. The power of the purse in Congress circles is manifest with equal force in the philanthropic activities of the millionaires who keep some of their favourite leaders and sub-leaders on the go not only with carriages and automobiles as well as travelling expenses but also with *dal-roti* and other paraphernalia of mundane existence and social efficiency or prestige. The moneyed individuals or families have known likewise how to utilize or exploit the idealists, the martyrs, the prophets, the poets, the novelists, the intellectuals, the so-called natural leaders, the journalists, and the youngmen in order to build up the despotic general staff of the Congress.

The loaves and fishes, whatever they be, the Council-memberships of the entire period or the ministerships of today as well as high-

salaried Government positions and titles of honour—have been enjoyed by the richer families among the Congress leaders at the cost, generally speaking, of the patriotic martyrs and self-sacrificing youngmen. This is one side of the shield,—the sinister aspect of Hindu-Moslem leadership in the Indian freedom movement. This analysis would be valid in regard to the Muslim League also.

Could the demos, the *vox populi*, general will, the masses, democracy, however, be at any time overlooked, ignored or entirely suppressed by the Congress institutions, the Congress High Command, or other nationalistic and semi-nationalistic associations of the Hindus and Mussalmans? Never. The very expediency of exploiting the intellectual and self-sacrificing poor men compelled the *Nabobs* of the Congress to cultivate *camaraderie* with the man in the street and enabled the man in the street to hobnob somewhat with the former. Even at the start, for instance, the democratic factors acted as a leaven in the Congress nucleus. Relatively poorer individuals were found useful and therefore acceptable as colleagues. Economic or financial upstarts, the *nouveaux riches* have always succeeded by hook or by crook in making themselves *persona grata* to the Congress oligarchy. Necessarily, therefore, persons with no traditional, hereditary or extraordinary family claims, men of non-higher castes and so forth have had to be taken into the Congress coteries. This is as true of the All-Indian as of provincial and district leaderocracy, both Hindu and Mussalman.

The history of the Congress High Command is thus on a small but appreciable scale a record of class-upheaval and social revolution such as has been going on in the country at large. An outstanding constitutional and social fact is this *digvijaya* (world-conquest) of the demos within the Congress movement, the *charaiveti* (march on) of popular will in the nationalist institutions of India. The steady rise and intrusion of the poorer and inferior classes into the folds of the propertied and the superior have had to be tolerated by the Mussalman leaders as much as by the Hindus. Consequently the acquisition of power in the Congress and the Muslim League deliberations by the lower middle class, non-superior castes, non-dominant races, the Momins among the Mussalmans, and so forth, is a reality, however meagre, in recent times. Indeed, the impacts of the folk of all sorts on the higher and the richer constitute the veritable socio-political and ethico-spiritual background of the nationalist movement in India. This has been the

general feature of the movement especially under the influence of the *Swadeshi* "ideas of 1905."

During the last decade or so it is the expansion of the same popular, *contrat social*, democratic and mass power in Indian Congress and Muslim League circles that we have been encountering. This is being achieved because of the socialistic onslaughts on the Leviathan of the Congress High Command and to a certain extent of the Muslim League authorities. Socialism has invaded the Congress and other nationalist citadels from within and without, as well as from the right and the left, from Amsterdam, Geneva and Moscow. It is to be understood that psycho-socially and in terms of moral and spiritual values socialism, no matter of what brand, is but an intensification of democracy-in-freedom or freedom-in-democracy. Socialism as the cult of power for the unpropertied and the illiterate is the latest form of freedom for mankind in East and West. In India also the exercise and enjoyment of power—political, economic and cultural—not only by the lower middle classes but also by her artisans, workingmen, peasants, pariahs and depressed—whether scheduled or un-scheduled, both Hindu and Moslem, in a substantial and effective manner has grown into the demands of socialism within and outside the Congress institutions.

Contrat social, democracy or folk-power has then been advancing even in its latest and newest forms—although perhaps in homoeopathic doses—in the atmosphere of the Congress Leviathan. The Bastille of Congress despotocracy has never been and bids fair never to be safe from the *charivari* of the storm-troopers of the Indian demos.

DEMOCRACY IN SOVIET DESPOTOCRACY

The three notorious Leviathans of today are the formal and professed dictatorships in Soviet Russia, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Of these the first is known to be the dictatorship of the proletariat. The others are alleged to be capitalistic dictatorships. For the present we are not interested in the questions of socialism or communism *vs.* capitalism, the proletariat *vis-à-vis* the bourgeoisie, or class struggle as contrasted with class-solidarity. Our main interest is for the time being focused on the democracy-despotocracy dichotomy. We ask ourselves: Are these three despotocracies exclusively despotocratic or dictatorial? Or do even they also exhibit the *contrat social*, the folk-element, democracy?

The constitution of Soviet Russia as defined by the treaty or Act of July 1923 recognizes eleven autonomous republics and thirteen autonomous areas. The democratic features of an autonomy were unknown in Czarist Russia. The soviets or *sabhas* (i.e. assemblies or councils) are the fundamental features of the Russian dictatorship. Membership of these *sabhas* is elective. The suffrage admits one member per 100 inhabitants. And territorially speaking, wherever there is a group of at least 300 persons there is a soviet. Nobody can remain a member for more than one year at a time. The soviets meet twice a week. The meanest soviets of the smallest and poorest rural regions or villages have jurisdiction not only over general administration but also over the police. As for the towns or urban areas their soviets are entrusted with municipal administration. By the Act of 1935 secret ballot was inaugurated.

Evidently the peasants and workers—the poorer classes—of Soviet Russia have been introduced for the first time to methods by which they can know, feel, taste and exercise political power which even the middle and the higher classes of the Russia of the Czars could not dream of previous to 1917. Add to this that it is these primary soviets—rural, urban and factory—that elect the members of the “provincial” congresses. The members of the supreme congress are elected from the soviets and the provincial congresses.

It is clear that the folk, the masses, the demos can have their hands and poke their noses in everything from the lowest to the highest rung of the political system of Soviet Russia. In so far as suffrage and election are considered to be the keys to or foundations of the democratic philosophy and constitution, it is the height of absurdity to deny the existence of democracy in this dictatorship of the proletariat. Democracy will have to be pronounced to be a reality of Soviet Russian despotocracy. The constitutional developments in Czarist Russia from 1905 to 1917 pale into insignificance before the doses and kinds of freedom and democracy such as are being enjoyed by the Russian masses under the Soviet regime.

The latest constitutional measure of Soviet Russia, the Act of February 1938, has provided for a bicameral legislature in keeping with the traditional principles of “Western democracies.” Under the previous Acts voting was enjoyed exclusively by the poorer *moujikae* (peasants) and categorically denied to the *kulaks* (richer farmers), private traders and the bourgeois classes. They were disfranchized

because they were treated as "class enemies." But in 1938 even these class enemies have been enfranchized. Suffrage has become genuinely universal. Even non-communists have been admitted to suffrage.⁴

THE CORPORATION DEMOCRACY AND FASCIST ABSOLUTISM

Nor do the democratic elements in the Fascist Leviathan deserve to be lost sight of. As in all "Western democracies", in Fascist Italy also the pre-dictatorial Senate continues to function as the second chamber. The old tradition of liberalism may then be said to be preserved in a formal manner. The *Camera dei Deputati* (400 members) has not been formally abolished as yet although it has lost functional importance on account of the virtual hegemony of a new organ, the Fascist Grand Council (of 24 members) established in 1923. Elections are still in vogue. In 1934, the year of the last election to the *Camera*, over 10 million persons, *i. e.*, nearly one-fourth of the entire Italian population, came to exercise their franchise out of the total number of nearly 10-12 million registered voters. In other words, democratic paraphernalia is quite in evidence.

In the meantime another new organ of a vital significance and influential character came into being in 1926. This is the *Cansiglio Nazionale delle Corporazioni* (National Council of Corporations). This body has been modified and reorganized several times in order to cope with the diversities of the economic and social interests and is perhaps after some radical transformations and expansions going to replace the *Camera* itself in the course of the next year. Representation, election, group interests, professional interests, and other items of democratic ideology and polity constitute the very life-blood of these corporations and their National Council.

It is in the primary units of this National Council that *vox populi* or democracy is the most audible in the dictatorship of Fascist Italy. The primary units are the nine *sindacati* (syndicates) and twenty-two *corporazioni* (corporations). It is their representatives that constitute the National Council.

⁴ For the constitutions of Czarist and Soviet Russia see H. E. Barnes : *History of Western Civilization*, Vol. II (New York, 1935), pp. 985-98; B. K. Sarkar : "Stalin as the Manager of Leninism, No. II" (*Calcutta Review*, September, 1938).

How extensive and profound are the contacts of these representatives and of the National Council with the folk, the people and the demos, although Fascism is formally totalitarian and despotic, will be apparent from an examination of the syndicates. The nine syndicates can be tabulated as follows:—

A. In Agriculture: (a) workingmen: four categories, (b) employers: four categories.

B. In Industry: (a) workingmen: twenty categories (b) employers: twenty-five categories.

C. In Trade and Commerce: (a) workingmen: five categories, (b) employers: thirty-seven categories.

D. In Banking and Insurance: (a) workingmen: four categories, (b) employers: twelve categories.

E. In the Arts and Professions: twenty-two categories.

In the fifth branch there are no categories of workingmen. In the other four branches the syndicates of workingmen function independently of those of the employers. It is from each one of these syndicates, *i. e.*, from those of the workingmen as well as of the employers, that representatives are sent to the National Council.

We shall now analyze the morphology of the twenty-two corporations.⁵ Each and every corporation is a joint body of workingmen and employers. Let us take, for instance, the corporation of chemical trades. It comprises the industry and trade in inorganic acids, fertilizers, explosives, pigments, soap, tanning products, pharmaceutical goods and the other chemical manufactures. The corporation has 68 members among whom the workingmen and employers are equal in number. It is from such corporations each representing the workingmen and employers in the most diverse agricultural, industrial, commercial and professional field that the National Council derives some of its members.

We are not interested in the economic aspects of the corporative organization for the time being. The conviction is, however, forced upon us from the political and administrative standpoint, that it is the power of the *popolo*, the masses, the workingmen, peasants and clerks, that is constantly shaping the destiny of totalitarian and dictatorial

⁵ G. Bortolotto: *Diritto Corporativo* (Milan 1934), pp. 67, 115-21, 159-75, 178, 535, 633-42; B. K. Sarkar: "The Corporative State," "The Corporations and Syndicates of Italian Economy" (*Calcutta Review*, October, 1933, August, 1938).

Fascist Italy. This is but another instance of a constitution being democratic inspite of the philosophy of its founder. In other words, the *stato corporativo* of Fascist Italy is demo-despotic like so many other states and semi-states of today.

In case the *Camera dei Deputati* is replaced by the Chamber of Corporations next year it will be a parliament of a type not yet known to history as based on professional or occupational representation.⁶ And in any case the Corporative Parliament will serve to confer on the Italian people a democracy the like of which was never conceived by Italian thinkers or statesmen, not even by Mussolini's friend and philosopher, Rocco, in *L'Idea Nazionale* (Rome, May, 1914), or in *Rassegna Italiana* (Rome, 1930), and of course never tasted by the men and women of Italy.

It is worth while to recall that from 1904 to 1915⁷ the Giolitti Ministry did not furnish the Italian people with anything more than a "dictatorial parliamentarism." Thirty million people used in those days to be governed by some thirty persons for the benefit of three hundred thousand families. The Senate was a non-entity and the Chamber of Deputies apathetic. It is in that perspective that the doses of freedom-in-democracy as obtaining in *lo stato Mussoliniano* and in the corporative state of today and tomorrow are to be appraised.

While discussing the democratic or *contrat social* aspect of Fascist corporations attention may be drawn to the Italian scholar Giorgio Del Vecchio's interpretation of these law-making institutions as embodiments of *statualizzazione* (statalization) and as associations almost on a par with the state itself (*Saggi Intorno allo Stato*, Rome, 1935). Del Vecchio's conception of these corporations is to a certain extent influenced by the German jurist Gierke's *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht* (1875). But the medieval guilds of Europe or the *srenis*⁸ of ancient and medieval India cannot be regarded as precursors of the Fascist *corporazioni*. The old guilds of artisans or traders were masters' associations whereas Mussolini has constructed solidaristic organizations in which employers, workingmen and government officials function together.

⁶ Benoist : *La Crise de l'Etat Moderne* (Paris, 1907); Lautaud and Poudeux : *La Representation Professionnelle* (Paris, 1927); B. K. Sarkar : *Political Philosophies since 1905* (Madras, 1928), pp. 181, 193, 197.

⁷ For the pre-War political thoughts and movements in Italy see G. Volpe : *L'Italia in Cammino* (Milan, 1931), pp. 93-113, 145-56, 205-08.

⁸ See the chapter on "Srenis (Guilds) of Peasants, Artisans and Merchants" in B. K. Sarkar : *The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922).

THE PEOPLE'S WILL IN THE TOTALITARIAN FUEHRERSCHAFT

The folk-factors, democratic elements and mass-features of the Nazi *Fuehrerschaft* (leaderocracy) are too obvious to be overlooked or ignored. In the first place, Hitler's Nazi Party is known as the *National-sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (National-Socialist German Workingmen's Party). It is as a workingmen's party and a socialist party that it was established in 1920. Its character as a labour organization and a socialistic movement has never been abandoned. In the second place, from 1920 to 1933 the Nazi Party was just a party among the numerous political parties of Germany. It had to fight its way slowly and tediously through the labyrinth of German economic, social and political vicissitudes. Every step that it took was no less legal and constitutional than that taken by the other parties. The methods by which the Nazi Party ultimately defeated the other Parties at the polls and succeeded in conquering the German people, so to say, were legitimate and popular or democratic. It is *vox populi*, the general will, *contrat social*, the plebiscite, the people's self-determination that raised the Nazi Party—first to the position of a power, then to that of a great power, and finally to that of the only power in the internal politics of Germany.⁹ In 1933 the Nazi Party was entitled to describe itself as the People's anointed, nay, almost identical with the people in ideology and number. It is in any case a striking instance of the survival of the fittest established as the result of a lengthy tug-of-war carried on in the open and under the free public gaze.

The character of the Nazi Party as the people's organization has not changed since its conquest of Germany. It is not a one-man show although very often it looks like that. The Nazi *Partei* (Party) is intensely diversified, multiform and hydra-headed. The *Fuehrer* (leader) has a tremendously vast *Gefolgschaft* (following) to attend to and this follower-group is as complex in age-composition, economic and social status, pursuit of interests and professions as the entire German nation. No human being on earth could ever advise, instruct, lead or command so many men, women and children from day to day without at the same time listening to, following and submitting to the wishes, requirements, nay, demands of all sorts and all grades. The impacts of *vox populi*, the mandates of the masses and the classes can under such

⁹ B. K. Sarkar : *The Hitler-State* (Calcutta, 1933) ; " The People and the State in Neo-Democracy " (*Calcutta Review*, July, 1936).

conditions influence, modify and control the ideals, ideas and ambitions of the leader in a regular manner as a matter of course. The agencies through which the leader is led by the masses are quite large, extensive and varied.

Some of the offices which belong to the *Partei* are those for schools, for professional organization, for civic life, for officials, for law and justice. The storm-troopers' organizations as well as the youth institutions likewise belong to the *Partei*. The automobile unions, the student federations, the women's organizations, the teachers' associations are also regarded as some of the *Partei* organs. Among the *Verbaende* (associations) legally affiliated to the *Partei* are those of medical men, lawyers, social welfare workers, engineers, and technologists. Last but not least there is the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* (German Labour Front), est. 1933, which, comprising as it does the majority of the German people, is one of the organizations enjoying *Partei* affiliation.

The *Partei* is thus an epitome of the entire German *Volk* and is inextricably bound up with it in its morning-to-evening functions. The contacts between the people and the party in Nazi Germany are, besides, brought about by normal constitutional channels, as manifest in the existence of so many permanent offices and associations.¹⁰

The affiliation of the German Labour Front to the *Partei* (March, 1935) is of extraordinary importance as having assured the democratic and mass character of the Nazi state. In the first place, the head of the German Labour Front is the head of the entire organization of the Nazi movement, i.e., of the Nazi *Partei*. In the second place, the word "labour" as understood in the Nazi constitution is all-inclusive. It comprises brain and brawn activities of all denominations. The Front is the organization of all *schaffenden Deutschen* (creative Germans). It comprises every member of the pre-Nazi workingmen's unions, employees' unions and employers' unions. No worker, no clerk and no employer is permitted to stay outside the Front, and the rights of workers, clerks and employers as members of this organization are identical. In the third place, the intimate legal association of

¹⁰ G. Ruehle: *Das Dritte Reich*, Vol. II (Berlin, 1934), pp. 267, 277-79, 344 (*Volksabstimmung*); Vol. III (1935), pp. 64, 81, 141-53 (*Deutsche Arbeitsfront*); O. Koellreutter: *Deutsches Verfassungsrecht* (Berlin, 1935), pp. 145-46, 142-53 (*Fuehrerschaft*), 185-87; B. K. Sarkar: "The People's State as conceived by Van den Bruck and the Third Reich of Today" (*Calcutta Review*, February, 1937).

the Labour Front with the *Partei* renders the Nazi state a state of the people for the people and by the people.

Not the least striking feature of Nazi democracy is the *Volksabstimmung*, plebiscite, appeal to the people, referendum, or mandate from the people, which is resorted to on all questions of major importance.

A state like the Nazi state of Germany, although avowedly totalitarian and autocratic, could not have been conceived, created, or administered by the traditional despots of the world. In other words, neither the Hohenzollerns from, say, Frederick the Great to Wilhelm II, nor the Bourbons of France nor the Tudor and Stuart autocrats of England, can, strictly speaking, be regarded as the ideological forerunners of the *Fuehrer* of Nazi Germany. The doses and kinds of democracy to which the *Fuehrer* is used were unknown to the God's anointed of Germany, France and England of those days.

The Nazi demo-despotocrat of today has in his socio-political *Gestalt* hardly anything in common with the demo-despotocrats of history. The contents and forms of democracy in the Nazi Leviathan are *sui generis*.

A THIRD EMPIRE FOR REPUBLICAN FRANCE

In spite of all seeming *digvijayas* (world-conquests) of dictatorship the expansion of democracy is then the most outstanding fact of societal organizations and theories throughout the world. A verification of this standpoint may be found in the ideology of Professor Otto Koellreutter's *Grundriss der Allgemeinen Staatslehre* or Sketch of General Political Theory (Tuebingen, 1933) and *Deutsches Verfassungsgrecht* or German Law of the Constitution (Berlin, 1935).

The conceptions or rather hopes of a French author for his *patric* may likewise be cited as another verification. In 1934 was published at Paris Professor Emile Lasbax's *La France ira-t-elle à un Troisième Empire ?* (Is France moving towards a Third Empire ?)

Entire social existence exhibits the rhythm of three items, and this rhythm repeats itself in history, says Lasbax. In the political domain the triad consists of royalty, republic and empire in succession. The regime of royalty is followed by that of republic and the regime of republic by that of empire. But royalty, republic and empire are to be taken as constitutional types of a very general character. Each is capable of denoting the most diverse varieties of political experience.

In this conception of the political categories it would be absurd according to Lasbax to take all imperialisms as nothing but Bonapartist imperialism. Each and every variety of imperialism is not to be taken as belonging ideologically to the "right" or as equivalent to putting republican legality to sleep. There is such a thing as *l'imperialisme démocratique* in Seillière's terminology.

The "balance of history" furnishes us today with *coup d'Etats* leading to authoritarian governments, bolshevism, fascism and national-socialism, such as involve the destruction of the liberty of individuals. A new "civism" has been developing which represents the philosophy neither of the "subject" of old monarchies nor of the "citizen" of modern republics. And this does not appear to be transient or transitory. These dictatorships have come to stay and cannot be regarded as constituting a danger to established order.

It is not in the irrational impulses of a crowd that the explanation of these phenomena is to be sought but in the vital processes of a social organism. Communism and reaction against communism—these two conflicting currents among the peoples have come to a common platform of mutual solidarity. One does not encounter here the caprices of individuals like Lenin, Mussolini and Hitler. Rather, it is the powerful collective forces operating in the depths and not on the surface of society that are incarnated by these individuals.

The cycle of royalty followed by republic and of that again by empire does not happen arbitrarily or by accident. It represents a vital rhythm corresponding to the rhythm of individual lives: infancy, puberty, youth, manhood, etc. In politics as in individual life every transition implies a crisis and this crisis can be "foreseen" and "treated" by the biologist, the hygienist or the medical expert. There is in this sense such a thing as the medicine of societies which should be able to declare that no regime of political life is destined to be eternal or that a regime which was necessary and valuable in the past is not likely to be useful in the future. The political regimes cannot be changed, postponed or prevented at one's own sweet will just as one cannot possibly alter the succession of infancy, adolescence, etc. The succession of the three political regimes has been seen in ancient Greece, ancient Rome as well as twice in French history down to 1789-1870.

From 1870 to 1875 the constitution of France was factually royalist, prepared as it was for King Henry V, Count of Chambord,

It was not before 1875 that the republic was formally proclaimed although the constitution continues to be republican only in name. Sociologically, then, the cycle is now ripe for an empire, believes Lasbax as prophet.

The dictators of today do not have to catch the imagination of the masses by riding a black horse in the uniform of a general with a hat of white feathers, says he. They are clothed in the daily dress of the ordinary citizens, the democratic costume of the parliamentarians. Indeed, they made bold to frequent the lobbies of Parliament. Nay, it is not to the "right" that they care to address their charms and sorceries but to the "left."

According to Lasbax, the progressive march towards the empire is already in evidence in France. The Senate is becoming more influential than the *Chambre des Députés*. The social conscience of the French people is getting used to ordinances, decrees, full powers, etc., of the government. The Legislature is being sacrificed inch by inch to the Executive.

The empire as conceived by Lasbax is an intermediate form of government. It is a mixture of royalty and republic. It is a synthesis of contraries.

The empire of Bonaparte was an original synthesis of the royalty of Louis XIV and the republican reforms of the Convention (1793). The Second Empire synthesized the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe and the plebiscite suffrage of the National Assembly (1848). Exactly in the same manner a new imperialism, when it makes its appearance in France, is bound to combine the parliamentary monarchism of Henry V (the original constitution of 1875) with the subsequent achievements of the present Third Republic after it has successively passed through conservatism, radicalism, radical-socialism and socialism.

The French people finds itself today in the *milieu* of the birth-throes of the Third Empire. And the pivot of this imperialism in France, in Germany under Hitler, is communism or socialism, the latest phase of economism,¹¹ not the forms, more or less monarchistic, of old spiritual sovereignties or theocracies. And it is here that the Third Empire encounters on a common ground the "neo-socialism"

¹¹ B. K. Sarkar: "The New Labour Laws and Socio-Economic Planning in France" *Calcutta Review*, June 1937; cf. E. de Seillière, *L'Imperialisme démocratique* (Paris, 1907).

of today which is trying to get itself relieved of Marxist extremism and the materialistic excesses of Marxian ideology.

Relativities in the Demo-Despotic Gestalt

The categories used in Lasbax's discussion are different from those in the present paper. But it is interesting to observe that while Koellreutter in his interpretations of the Nazi constitution is stressing the *Volk* (folk) basis of the *Fuehrerschaft* (leaderocracy), Lasbax's orientations incline him to the belief that the Leviathan is advancing and desirably advancing in his French democracy. The *rapprochement* between democracy and despotocracy is the common feature in the ideology of the German and the French scholars.

Inductively speaking, then, as analytically also we are led to the thesis that hardly anywhere on earth has there been ever a pure Leviathan or a pure *contrat social*. A realistic analysis of political structures and ideologies, forms and relations presents us invariably with an amalgam of the two. The political *Gestalt* of the groups, tribes, races, nations and so forth can be explained only by a new synthetic approach which could try to combine the conflicting principles of Hobbes and Rousseau and adapt the *rapprochement* to the diverse conditions of the regions and the ages.

The synthesis or juxtaposition of *danda* and *dharma* should be considered to be the fundamental key to the explanation of the diverse expressions of political life in the two Hemispheres and through all the epochs of human life.

There are men who are ashamed of despotocracy as there are men who are haters of democracy. On the other hand, the name of persons going mad over democracy is legion just as it is not difficult to come across persons who are frank in the eulogy of despotocracy. But in the realistic view of political psychology and political sociology democracy cannot do without despotocracy and despotocracy cannot do without democracy. The two polaristic categories constitute the irreducible minimum of the political *Gestalt* of mankind.

The co-existence of conflicting tendencies in the individual *psyche* and the so-called group-mind can be well illustrated objectively in the cycle of practically every revolution in the world's history. Revolutions as a rule have had their radical or extremist phases followed by con-

trary currents or movements.¹² The socio-political reactions do not take excessively long periods but make their appearance in a very few years, nay, few months, as in economic crises or industrial fluctuations. The waves of extremism and moderatism in the English revolution of 1640-60 as well as of the French revolution of 1780-1815 are well known. The extremist Leninism (1918) of Soviet Russia also had to cry halt at the New Economic Policy of 1922, *i.e.*, at the third or fourth year. Since then there has been going on a period of Leninism No. II., *i.e.*, a reaction towards moderatism which is being conducted with success under the Stalin regime.

It is the pluralistic *Gestalt* of the mind as understood by Ribot, Pareto, Freud, Thorndike, McDougall and other psychologists that should appear to be the *milieu* and foster-ground of diametrically opposite categories like mobocracy and autocracy, mass-rule and tyranny, liberty or license and restraint or coercion following each other in quick and short transitional stages. The human mind, individual or collective, may be said to be quite capable of assimilating the reaction almost as easily or swiftly as the revolution. The regime of reason and the regime of emotion, sentiment, instinct, the unconscious, etc., can be digested almost indifferently and simultaneously by individuals and groups. The naturalness and inevitable character of demo-despotocracy and despoto-democracy are to be oriented to this fundamental pluralism of the human mind.

But at this stage it is necessary to practise caution in regard to the universal application of the demo-despotic or despoto-democratic formula. Every polity has been found to be a function of democracy^x multiplied by despotocracy^y. But the values of *x* and *y* vary. They differ from region to region, group to group, race to race, as well as from age to age. The demo-despotic features may be universal and eternal. But the *Gestalt* of each polity is different from that of the others. Each is marked by an individuality, idiosyncrasy, "group-personal" equation. In terms of political morphology there are demo-despotocracies and demi-despotocracies. Demo despoto-cracy is relative and conditional. The individualities, divergences and relativities are occasioned by the differences in the doses and forms of the democratic elements as well as the difference in the doses and

¹² A. Jaassain : "Le Succes des partis extrêmes dans les revolutions" (*Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, Paris, May-June 1938); P. Sorokin : *The Sociology of Revolution* (New York, 1925); B. K. Sarkar : "Prosperity and Depression" (*Indian Economic Journal*, Allahabad, July, 1938); W. E. Hocking : *Man and the State* (New Haven, 1926), pp. xi, 49-50.

forms of the despotic elements constituting each and every polity. The variations in the *Gestalt* are the results of diversity in the atoms, molecules or strains of the two orders of socio-moral values which go to form every constitutional amalgam.

The atoms, molecules or strains in each of the three Leviathans of today are so varied that morphologically it would be extremely difficult to trace any family likeness between the Russian soviets, the Italian corporations and the *Verbaende* (associations) of the German *Fuehrerschaft*. We have already noted likewise that neither the "new monarchy" of the British Tudors and Stuarts nor the "absolutism" of the French Louises, nor even the Hegelian authoritarianism of the Hohenzollerns can be cited in the same breath as the *Fuehrer* polity of the Nazis.

It would, again, be morphologically untenable to establish an equation between the democratic features of contemporary demo-despotic England, France, U.S.A., etc., and those of demo-despotic Soviet Russia, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, or those of the British Colonies, the Government of India and the Indian National Congress.

The psychologico-analytical as well as inductive-realistic study of the political morphologies should convince us that the presence, survival or even expansion of the Leviathan, the *danda*, should not blind anybody to the reality of the growth and expansion of *contrat*, *social*, *dharma*, folk-power, democracy and mass-energism. Despotocracy, absolutism, totalitarianism may persist and may change forms. But all the same, power, privileges, manhood, freedom, chances for initiative, individuality, self-assertion are descending all the time from the lap of the gods, the upper ten thousands, into the hands and feet of the pariahs, the slaves, the paupers, and the illiterates. The progress, expansion or world-conquest (*digvijaya*) of democracy and socialism as phases of individual and collective freedom is one of the most solid items in the balance of societal developments,

CREATIVE DISEQUILIBRIUM *vs.* STATUS QUO

In the interest of further progress in regard to the conquest of freedom it is for the energists, idealists and futurists¹³ of every

¹³ B. K. Sarkar : *The Science of History* (London, 1912).

region, group or race to exhibit their yearnings after New Heavens by initiating creative disequilibrium of all forms adapted to the socio-economic and ethico-cultural conditions of their conjunctures. *Nana-srantya srirasti*, as says the *Aitareya Brahmana* (VII, 15) of Vedic literature. Prosperity is not for the person that is not tired with wanderings and movements. It cannot be desirable for mankind to rest at any point in the path of progress or of freedom. The struggle for freedom is eternal in every nook and corner of the two Hemispheres. So is freedom-preparedness.

Not even Indians—whether Hindu or Moslem—can be expected to remain ignorant of the methodology of progress or the dialectic in the conquest of freedom. The process belongs to the very nature of power as an individual and social force. Privileges and rights have hardly ever been surrendered by the upholders of the *statuts quo* to new individuals, races, groups, castes, or classes. The world is used to climbing like corals grave by grave that have a pathway sunword. In India as elsewhere freedom has to be wrested from the powers-that-be, inch by inch or mile by mile, as the case may be. Methods of sweet-reasonableness or attempts at mutual understanding in the relations between the vested interests and the challenging individuals or groups are rare in the annals of freedom, democracy and socialism. The Indian people *vis-à-vis* the administration as well as *vis-à-vis* the natural leaders, the Congress and other nationalist and patriotic associations has been but repeating the cosmic processes of conflicts between individuals, families, groups or classes.

Mankind has never learnt anything from the past experiences nor seriously understood the lessons of history. Perhaps the only lesson of history that is worth while to be remembered points to the fact that sweet-reasonableness is generated among the superior races, ruling classes, High Commands and so forth, if at all, only under exceptional circumstances. It does not make its appearance until and unless the individuals or groups capable of producing creative unrest, disharmony and disequilibrium have effectively demonstrated to the world that they are strong enough to extort justice, fair dealing, powers and positions from unwilling hands. At every stage in the struggle for or conquest of freedom there is the eternal problem of creative disequilibrium *vs. statuts quo*, i.e., a challenge to the questions closed.

ECONOMIC AND BUSINESS STATISTICS IN INDIA *

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FROM THE KNOWN INTO THE UNKNOWN

IN Statistics there has been almost a revolution since the beginning of the present century—more definitely from Karl Pearson's work on chi-square distribution in 1900. Ever since the days of *Arthaśāstra* in India and ever since the time in Europe when Statistics was merely the science of statecraft, or a matter of "Political Arithmetick," we concerned ourselves with data of complete investigations and their presentation in an appropriate manner with the help of averages, measures of dispersion, forms of frequency distributions, etc. We studied in detail the field actually surveyed and never ventured from the known into the unknown. This venture began with the beginning of the present century. From partial investigations we tried to get at reliable estimates of the results of complete investigations without undertaking such investigations at all. What is more important, we could in every case give the limits of error through which the estimates derived from partial investigations could possibly differ from the results of full investigations.

ECONOMY OF SAMPLE INVESTIGATIONS

Such generalisation is of great practical importance. For complete investigations, although yielding accurate results, are subject to two fatal defects. In the first place, such investigations are costly and cannot be lightly undertaken except when adequate funds and trained staff are available. In the second place, there is great delay. In these days of economic and political unsettlement, it may frequently happen that by the time the results of complete investigation are available, conditions have changed to such an extent that the results, although accurate, are of no practical use whatsoever in guiding

* Based on an Address given before the Andhra University, Waltair, on December 2, 1938.

national economic policies. A post-mortem examination is something very different from a diagnosis. As a matter of fact, a post-mortem examination is of use only in so far as it helps a subsequent diagnosis.

MODERN STATES AND STATISTICS

The days of *laissez-faire* are definitely gone. For good or for evil, the States throughout the modern world are concerning themselves more and more with economic questions. The stake involved is so great that it is impossible for them to depend on mere guess work. They must have definite answers to definite questions of urgent national importance. In days of free trade, or of halting and apologetic protection, we needed only an academic discussion in the approved debating style on the question, free trade *versus* protection. But a State now has to discuss not the general question but is called upon to decide about the levy of a particular protective duty. Economists and statisticians should be able to give accurate and quantitative estimates of the advantages and disadvantages. Administrators and legislators must then decide whether the advantages outweigh the disadvantages or not. Thus economists and statisticians must play their rôle in shaping national economic policies as much as administrators and legislators.

BRIDGING THE GAP

Such collaboration must lead to useful results in other ways as well. Administrators and legislators have much to learn from economists and statisticians about the methods of collecting, analysing and interpreting statistical data. On the other hand, economists and statisticians have equally to know many details about the actual scope and nature of official statistical data. There is a wide hiatus, which must be bridged by a body such as the Indian Statistical Institute with the help of its branches in the various provinces and the Indian States.

STATISTICS IN BUSINESS HOUSES

Such collaboration is necessary not only for wide national problems but even for private business houses. We have long passed the stage of small individual firms, when the proprietor was able to look

into all the details of his business himself. He did not require the services of a trained auditor for checking his accounts and of an expert cost accountant for exploring possible economies. Units of business have now become much too big for one brain to handle efficiently. In our college days, we used to hear a good deal against Government carrying on business enterprises. We argued that public enterprises under bureaucratic administration were bound to be less efficient because they worked under set rules with little or no initiative and without the magic of private gain. Now-a-days, however, that distinction has largely disappeared. The distinction, if any, has become very thin indeed. It follows, therefore, that whatever is true about the rôle of statistics in national economic policies is also true *mutatis mutandis* about the policies of private enterprises and business houses of an adequate scale.

GENERAL BUSINESS ACTIVITY

It may be argued that a businessman knows everything necessary about his own business. For instance, a dealer in jute knows the probable demand, the probable supply and the probable trend of prices of the commodity with which he is directly concerned. But is this quite correct? Is not his business affected by general trade activity? It stands to reason that if trade is brisk, there will be a keen demand for packing materials such as gunnies and hessians and therefore for raw jute. It is for this reason that various indices of business activity have been made available for businessmen. For instance, "Capital" of Calcutta, a journal run by businessmen for their own benefit and not for the sake of any academic interest, publishes every month an index of business activity.

ESTIMATION OF STANDARDS FOR COMPARISON

In trade, in industry and in finance, there is an insistent demand for more and better statistics. Unless and until a businessman has standards of measurement obtained after accurate statistical analysis, he cannot judge the relative efficiency or inefficiency of his own business. For instance, unless the executive head of a cotton mill knows the optimum capital of an enterprise, its appropriate allocation in preference and ordinary shares and debenture bonds, its proper division into block account and working funds and so on, he cannot run his mill

efficiently. Nor can he know whether he is spending more on overhead charges than he should, until he has analysed the costs properly and compared his own costs with standard costs.

HOW SECRECY IS SECURED IN ENGLAND

It may be argued how it is possible to have data from other competing firms so as to arrive at approved standards. This is not an insoluble difficulty. For instance, in the course of my last visit to England, I found that the numerous Departmental Stores of that country had devised an ingenious plan for improving their efficiency. Prof. Plant of the London School of Economics had prepared a detailed *questionnaire* covering nine pages asking for particulars about volumes of sales, sale prices, purchase prices, rent and establishment charges, advertising costs, etc. These replies did not bear any names but bore secret check numbers known only to the Incorporated Association of Retail Distributors, of which the Departmental Stores were members. These replies, however, were sent not to the Association where these check numbers were known, but to the Economics and Statistics Division of the Bank of England, who extracted the necessary data for studying the internal trade positions, and published those results in their monthly *Statistical Summary*. The check numbers on the replies were changed by the Bank of England into another set of numbers known only to them and the replies were then forwarded to the London School of Economics for final analysis. It was not possible for Prof. Plant or any of his assistants to know which Departmental Store had sent which reply. If they found any figure suspicious or had any inquiry to make regarding any reply, they had to write to the Bank of England in the first instance quoting the check number passed on to them. The Bank of England referred to their own register and found out the check number assigned by the Incorporated Association of Retail Distributors who finally wrote to their own member regarding the point raised by the London School of Economics. The system was made advisedly complex so as to ensure secrecy. But I found that the system was working very smoothly indeed.

PARTIAL AND COMPLETE INVESTIGATIONS

This was a case of complete enumeration, or an enumeration as nearly complete as possible. But partial investigations by means of a

study of samples also give reasonably accurate results. Mr. Keynes told me about a striking instance of this in connection with his work for the Macmillan Committee. During the course of the inquiry, it was necessary to study the details of Bank advances, such as their amounts, the purposes for which they were taken, their period, their rate of interest, etc. It was argued that these could be procured only by the expenditure of considerable time and money. Mr. Keynes, however, turned up every hundredth account of a Bank's ledger and on the basis of the data for those advances arrived at certain figures. A Bank manager, who was also a member of the Macmillan Committee, was highly suspicious of such quick results and employed his huge staff in his numerous branches all over the country to prepare a similar statement on the basis of all the accounts. To his surprise he found that his statement obtained after so much delay and labour yielded practically the same results.

As a matter of fact, if the samples are properly chosen, we can from the study of the samples generalise about the whole body, technically called the population, within any assigned limit of error. For instance, if we desire to improve accuracy so as to have half as much error now as before, we must have four times as many samples as before. If we know the money and time at our disposal we can always carry on investigations strictly within those limits and state the resulting error.

UNREPRESENTATIVE PARTIAL INVESTIGATIONS

This technique of random sampling has been revolutionised in recent years. Unfortunately we have not advanced in practice as much as in theory. Even at the time of the last Banking Committee, each Provincial and State Committee was asked to survey the economic condition of a number of "typical" villages and generalise on the basis of the data so collected. The procedure must necessarily defeat its own purpose. In selecting the villages, one must necessarily have a bias; he must necessarily be guided by his own ideas of what is typical. The result will be that the sample of typical villages of one investigator will yield results which are different from those obtained from a second sample of villages chosen by a second investigator. Such partial investigations are so unrepresentative that they are not worthy of any serious statistical consideration.

REPRESENTATIVE PARTIAL INVESTIGATIONS

Sample, then, to be of any practical use, must be representative. Such samples may be either purposive or random. Purposive samples are designed in such a manner as to represent the universe or population in the miniature. Random sample again may be chosen in two ways. Thus we may have ordinary random samples, that is to say, each item in the universe or population has the same chance of being included in the sample. Or, we may have stratified random samples, that is to say, we divide up the universe or population into a number of strata and choose our sample by taking up items from these different strata in a random manner. To fix our ideas, suppose we are investigating the family budgets of jute mill workers in Calcutta. We may choose any 500 families out of the total number in a perfectly random manner. Or, we may divide up the families into several groups within definite ranges of income, Rs. 50 to Rs. 60, Rs. 60 to Rs. 70 and so on. We may then choose our sample by selecting families out of these different income groups separately. Even this does not exhaust all the possible methods. For, in stratified random samples, we may either select the same number of families within each income group or varying numbers from the different groups in accordance with certain principles. I do not desire to go into these complexities here. My purpose here is to emphasize the obvious fact that if our investigation is to be of any worth, it must be carefully planned and executed.

POSITION IN INDIA

In India, it frequently happens that both planning and execution are defective and the results obtained are vitiated by this double error. I heard an amusing story about Indian Statistics from one of my friends, who was then a Deputy Superintendent of Police. On one occasion he was asked to count the number of donkeys in his Sub-division. The report was required by the Government of India and came through the usual official channel—from the Government of India to the Government of Bengal, from the Bengal Government to the Commissioners of Divisions, from the Divisional Commissioners to the District Magistrates, from the District Magistrates to the Sub-divisional Police Officers. The results had also to be communicated through the same official channel, and my friend had only two days

for counting the number of donkeys in his Sub-division. The orders of the Government of India were urgent and no extension of time was possible. Before the two days were out, my friend took his figure to the District Magistrate, an Englishman belonging to the Indian Civil Service, who at once said, "The figure is absolutely worthless. It cannot be incorporated in my statement." My friend pleaded, "Sir, you gave me only two days. I telegraphed to the officers-in-charge of all the police stations of my Sub-division, asked them to ascertain from all the washermen in their respective police stations the number of their donkeys and then send the figures on to me. I could do no better." The Magistrate then said, "Your figures are wrong no doubt, but not very wrong either. If you add two to your figure, it will be absolutely correct." My friend looked in surprise. The Magistrate said, "Don't you see that I am a donkey in giving you this senseless order for counting donkeys in a Sub-division in two days and you are another donkey in carrying out that idiotic order !"

OFFICIAL STATISTICS COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN STATISTICAL INSTITUTE

If the truth must be told, some of our official statistics are of this idiotic variety. They are not worth the paper on which they are written. Some time ago, the Indian Statistical Institute appointed a Committee, the Official Statistics Committee, to go into the defects of official statistics and to suggest remedies. A number of persons and institutions sent memoranda and suggestions which were carefully scrutinised by me as the Secretary of that Committee. Four principal defects were pointed out, with a number of illustrations, *viz.* (a) delay in publication, (b) lack of information in regard to the significance and scope of published statistics, (c) gaps and defects in existing statistics and (d) lack of co-ordination. I need not go into these details here as the report of the Committee is available in *Sankhyā*, Vol 2, Part 3. Several suggestions were made, some of which have already been accepted by Government. To give a notable instance, the current issue of the *Statistical Abstract for British India* is a great improvement on the previous issues. Most of the tables now show the sources from which the data are reproduced so that figures can be brought up to date without much difficulty, by referring to the sources indicated.

Several unimportant tables have been discarded and some new and important tables included in the current issue of the *Abstract*.

IMPROVEMENT OF OFFICIAL MACHINERY

It is not my purpose here to go into details, but merely to mention the fact that Indian official statistics have always been marked by a series of compromises, not only between "what is ideally desirable and what is actually obtainable," but also between statistical needs and administrative purposes. Statistical data now are, and must continue for many years to be, merely a bye-product of administrative departments. It is idle to suggest an independent body of reporters either purely voluntary or directly statistical. It is felt, however, that a substantial improvement may be immediately effected at a small cost if the staff which checks and interprets the primary data is strengthened in the provinces and the States on the one hand and at the centre on the other.

PUBLIC INTEREST

There also remains the question of public interest in Statistics. As the Royal Commission on Agriculture so aptly points out:

"The whole basis of Statistics in India urgently requires broadening. It should rest not on the work of a few government officials, however able, but on the support of the informed public, and, through them, on the recognition by the legislatures and by the general public that modern statistical methods are in a position to make an indispensable contribution to the successful development of social administration."

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION BY OFFICIALS AND NON-OFFICIALS

Not that there has been no non-official interest in Statistics. Nor is it correct to say that officials have merely collected facts without analysing and interpreting them. *The Review of the Trade of India* is a case in point. Here the dry bones of the statistics in the two bulky volumes of the *Annual Statement of Sea-borne Trade and Navigation* are made to live. The same is true of Census and Settlement Reports, some of which are extremely valuable. Several monographs

and village studies have been published either by officials or by non-officials with official help and patronage for throwing much-needed light on the obscurities of Indian economic life. Besides these, we have a number of articles embodying the results both of analysis and of interpretation. Probably the earliest of them were those bearing on the national income of India, beginning with Dadabhai Naoroji's *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*. All of these are not of equal value, for most of them are written with a definite bias and without a proper appreciation of the underlying theory and technique of estimation. It is a regrettable but an undoubted fact that the last twenty-five years have coincided with a strong nationalistic movement in India which has necessarily influenced most of the economic and statistical writings of the period, making them emotional and not scientific—nationalistic and not critical. It is only during the last decade that a school of writers has tried to make a dispassionate study of economic and statistical problems but their number is not large, as it must be, in such a period of political unrest, unfulfilled desires and vague expectations.

THE FUTURE

Such objective articles again may be divided into two broad categories, *viz.*, those which are mainly descriptive and do not employ any technical statistical method, and those by trained statisticians which push the work of analysis and interpretation farther with the help of technical devices. The number of this last group is extremely meagre and until and unless this is considerably increased, there can be no substantial improvement. For it is such analysis and interpretation that can lead to an improvement in the scope and nature of the primary data. On the other hand, with the improvement of primary data, the results of analysis and interpretation will be more and more incisive. We must break the present vicious circle of defective data and inaccurate findings. It requires untiring patience, sustained energy and co-ordinated effort. Even if the immediate results are not spectacular, we must work on with faith and hope—faith in ourselves and our work, and hope for the future and for our country. It is with this mission that the Indian Statistical Institute is charged.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and outside.]

University for Assam

A group of students were granted interview by the Hon'ble Sj. Gopinath Bardoloi, Prime Minister of Assam, at his residence. In course of the discussion the Hon'ble the Prime Minister is reported to have stressed the importance of cultural co-operation among the students of the two provinces, Bengal and Assam. He is reported to have said that there is no impossibility for starting an University in Assam whose main feature will be to deal with Assamese culture and the ancient history of the province.

About the educational scheme he is reported to have stated that his Government are going to take up mass literacy campaign shortly. The literacy move has already been taken up among the tribal population.

About the labourers in the Assam tea gardens the Hon'ble Premier is reported to have said that like other Congress Governments of other provinces he believed in improvement of their condition by gradual welfare work. He further narrated the pitiable condition of the labourers and is reported to have expressed the view that his Government are ready to support any organisation with necessary legislation if these organisations take up the work for their gradual welfare.

Hawaii University

Mr. Gregg M. Sinclair, Director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Hawaii, in course of an interview to the United Press said that he had been touring in India for the last two months in order to meet various leaders of Indian Philosophy and enlist their support to the creation of a Chair of Indian Philosophy in the Oriental Institute of Hawaii. Mr. Sinclair had already met Poet Tagore, Pandit Ganganath Jha and Babu Bhagawan Das and was going to meet Mahatma Gandhi at Wardha. Mr. Sinclair said that America was growing very anxious to have a knowledge of true Indian philosophy. As a result the Oriental Institute was prepared to take Indian students for training in Japanese, Chinese and Indian Philosophy for which arrangements have been made there. It had also been proposed to hold an Eastern and Western Philosophers Conference during the coming summer as a preliminary session. He felt glad that Mahatma Gandhi had repudiated the slogan of sectionalism "Asia for Asiatics." He said that no such fundamentally false doctrines should gain followers.

Osmania University

Efforts at a compromise between the Osmania University authorities and the students who are on strike on the Vande Mataram issue, started by a prominent official, having definitely failed, some students left for Nagpur to make boarding and lodging arrangements for the other expelled students who are expected to join classes in different colleges affiliated to the Nagpur University. The students have issued a detailed programme giving instructions to the students at Aurangabad and Warangal to reach Nagpur.

Arrangements for F.R.C.S. Examination

That closer association between India and England in the field of medical education would prove of immense benefit to the former country and that the purpose of holding the F.R.C.S. (Primary) Examination in various centres in India was to demonstrate to the authorities concerned how the teaching should be done to get better results here was the opinion expressed by Dr. R. S. Rew, Director of Examinations, Royal College of Surgeons.

Dr. Rew will conduct the F.R.C.S. Examination at Lahore. He said that permanent arrangements were being made to conduct the examinations by experts in India itself and added that the idea of holding the examinations was to save trouble and extra expenditure to Indian candidates for an examination which would in the usual course be held at the Royal College of Surgeons in England.

Dr. Rew opined that Indian students in general did not come up to the standard of English students. This he attributed to inadequate arrangements for proper teaching in this country.

Miscellany

FRENCH INDO-CHINA IN ASIAN POLITICS

In recent months reports from the territorial possessions of the Occidental Powers along the southern coast of Asia and in the South Pacific have indicated feverish defence activities against the expected extension of Japanese political influence into these areas. According to the *Far Eastern Mirror* the French, in particular, appear of late to have come down with a severe case of the jitters over the safety of their immensely profitable ownership of Indo-China. In part this has been an outgrowth of the present Sino-Japanese conflict, which has resulted in the landing, for "inspection" purposes, of Japanese marines on the strategic island of Hainan, threats to bomb the important Annam Yunnan Railway, and the recent capture of Amoy. However, particularly disquieting to French official circles has been the changing situation in Siam, which in late years appears to have come directly within the Japanese orbit to the exclusion of previous Occidental interests. The most recent evidence of this, from the French point of view, is the announcement of a contract award to a Japanese firm for enlarging the port of Bangkok to make it accessible to large ships now compelled to anchor outside. Further evidence is the announcement of Siam's intention to abrogate the existing treaty with France which has theretofore made possible a demilitarized border zone between Siam and Indo-China. A report made some years ago by a French writer is not without interest here. He stated that Siam itself was not a menace, but that on the day she entered into an alliance with Japan every safety to Indo-China would vanish.

Resources

French Indo-China has an area of some 285,000 square miles and a population of 23,000,000. Its foreign population numbers approximately 360,000, of whom 30,000 are French. The territory consists of the colonies of Cochin-China and Laos ruled directly from Paris, and the protectorates of Annam, Combodia, and Tonkin. With the exception of a small concession in 1887, later abandoned, these territories were all acquired by France in the imperialistic heyday of the latter half of the nineteenth century. With their expert colonization technique, the French have since garnered a tremendous return from this rich store-house of the East which Sarraut, one of the territory's former administrators, has called "the most important, the most developed and the most prosperous of our colonies." Although rice cultivation is the basis of the country's economic life, it also possesses considerable possibilities in raw materials, which have been but partially tapped. These include large deposits of high quality coal, limestone, resources of wood, tin, zinc, phosphates, precious stones, gold and rubber.

Japanese Penetration

Japanese economic penetration had made comparatively little headway in Indo-China, due to severe restrictions imposed by the French

decree. These have not only applied specific quotas on Japanese cotton, but also have brought about the imposition of an exchange compensation surtax of 25 per cent. of the assessed duties on all other Japanese imports into Indo-China. Through this it has been hoped not only to curtail purchases from Japan, but also to exert a psychological influence in order to prevent possible extension of Japanese influence as the champion of the yellow race. This last, as a movement, had its inception in 1905 after the Russo-Japanese War, and with varying fortunes has persisted to the present hope of Japanese support for an Annamite uprising against French control.

After conquest of Annam in 1885, the French desired to safeguard their interests with China to the effect that the three southern Chinese provinces of Yunnan, Kwangsi, and Kwangtung would never be ceded to any foreign power. However, this failed due to the opposition of the British who at the time may have had in mind plans based upon their own control of Hong Kong.

Importance of Hainan

That the strategic value of the present much discussed island of Hainan was recognized is evident in an agreement of March, 1897, by which Britain compelled China to agree not to concede or lease this land to any country for the purpose of establishing a naval base or refuelling station. It is this last possibility which so alarmed the French following the previously mentioned "inspection" visit, that their ambassador to Tokyo, Mr. Charles Arsene Henry, made enquiries of the Japanese Government as to their intentions.

A glance at a map will show the importance of this island. Its occupation by an ambitious or unfriendly power could seriously affect not only the French control of Annam but also of Kwang Chau Wan, acquired by lease in 1898. The island covers about 97,198 square miles and has a large bay at Yulingkang, which would make it an excellent naval base. The land is fertile and could also be cultivated with profit.

Up to late years the French attitude towards Japanese aspirations in China was one of benevolent neutrality. The main reason for this was a treaty between the two countries signed in 1907. In the well-remembered imperialistic phrasology characteristic of the period, this treaty defined France's potential territorial interests in China as the provinces of Yunnan, Kwangsi, Kwangtung, with Japan to have similar freedom of action in the provinces of Manchuria, Mongolia, and Fukien. It is generally believed that this situation was instrumental in toning down the Lytton Report of 1932 condemning Japanese activities in Manchuria.

However, as possibilities inherent in recent Japanese activities have become clearer, the attitude of the French has been definitely modified and today France appears to have made common cause with the other Powers facing similar conditions with regard to their Asiatic possessions. Evidence of this is seen in the frequent rumour, although officially denied, that the latter has reached a definite understanding in a Tri-Power Agreement with British and Dutch authorities. In the event of attack the naval bases of Singapore and Sourabaya would be made available to the warships of all parties to the Agreement.

Defence Plans

France, on her own behalf, has also undertaken preparations for the actual defence of Indo-China. She had made a beginning as early as 1933 when she took possession of nine small islands to the east of the Indo-China coast. These are merely sand-bars and rock formations with no habitation and are used occasionally by fishing junks. However, they have considerable possibilities for coastal defence purposes and can be of use in sea and air navigation.

While it is at times difficult to sift the truth from the many unfounded rumours and reports which develop out of nothing more than possibility and wish fulfilment, there is little question but that, in view of the present situation in China, the French are making every possible effort to anticipate possible Japanese designs with regard to Indo-China. This has been clearly indicated by a number of circumstances—the rapidity with which French warships rushed to the South China Sea at the outbreak of present hostilities between China and Japan, and the extensive air manœuvres held by the authorities in November and December, 1937 which tested lines of communication not only between France and her North African colonies but also between France and Indo-China. It is also generally believed that France contemplates the construction of a naval base at Cam-Ranh Bay, which is located approximately midway between Hong Kong and Singapore. From here it is intended to operate a modern submarine flotilla, fast destroyers, and a squadron of bombing hydroplanes. In Along Bay facing the Chinese island of Hainan, a series of secondary defences is to be constructed, and at Cape Saint Jacques, which controls the main entrance to Saigon, coastal defences are to be strengthened. Vulnerable openings along the 1,850-mile coast line of a territory half again the size of France are to be protected with heavy guns.

The French Government has also ordered the construction of military roads up to the Chinese frontier, built several modern air-fields, and, according to reports, is being urged by the military to store huge quantities of supplies to meet any emergency which might arise, since it would require weeks to secure them from Europe.

France's Increasing Interest

In the January 1st issue of *L'Europe Nouvelle* an indication of the increasing interest of the French in the future of their Indo-China provinces is reflected in the recommendation that their consuls and ambassadors in the Far East should keep in constant touch with one another to take measures for defence if the need should arise.

Needless to say, the British are pleased over these activities. Recent reports, which describe the Japanese as occupying numerous island groups along the South China coast for naval and air armament at a cost of 300,000 yen, have been particularly alarming. These islands include the Hopao Island near Macao, the Pratas Shoals near Hong Kong, and the fortification of the Kimoi Shoals just outside of Amoy Harbour. However, with the French arming not only will a measure of protection be assured for the sea-route from Hong Kong to Singapore, but on the continental side of Indo-China, the caravan route to the oilfields of Burma and through Yunnan into British-influenced Tibet will be defended.

British Opinion

Present activities are a far cry from the situation in 1936, when the Blum Government took office and it was rumoured that the French Socialists, averse to compelling any native population to remain under the French flag against its will, were contemplating withdrawal from Indo-China. British opinion immediately became apprehensive over the possibilities of Japanese infiltration into an independent Indo-China and the subsequent effect on the Strait Settlements and India. It was generally held in London diplomatic circles that "if and when a Government of the Left in France thinks it fit to surrender its rights in Asia, British preferential rights on the Indo-China coast must have been reserved in advance."

However, present French policy with regard to the defence of Indo-China would appear to dispel any possibility of this. Confirmation, if needed, can be found in the speech of Mr. Alexander Varenne, former Governor of Indo-China and Representative of Tonkin at the Supreme Council of Colonies, made on the occasion of his visit to China last year. In unequivocal terms he stated that France stood ready to defend Indo-China against attack. Undoubtedly the answer to this, in part, can be found in possibilities implicit in the Berlin-Tokyo axis, as well as in certain other circumstances of European origin. These have made for a solidarity of interests on the part of Great Britain and France in which of necessity their respective colonial interests in Asia must be a considerable factor.

BENQY KUMAR SARKAR

STATE AID IN WHEAT MARKETING

With a 1938 world wheat crop of record proportions in sight, widespread interest is again being manifested in what the governments of foreign wheat surplus-producing countries have done or are doing to protect growers from low prices, says L. I. Schaben in *The Agricultural Situation*.

Canada, the world's largest surplus producer and this year harvesting a crop expected to be the largest in 10 years, has already assured its wheat growers a minimum price of 80 cents per bushel for No. 1 Northern, delivered at Fort William. This guaranteed minimum, fixed by the Wheat Board early in August, will be paid for deliveries to the Board from the current crop. Canadian growers, however, are free to offer wheat in the open market at world prices.

Establishment of a Wheat Board with authorization to purchase all wheat grown in the four western provinces whenever growers cannot sell in the open market at or above a fixed minimum price was provided for in the Canadian Wheat Board Act which became law on July 5, 1935. To insure that the job of moving wheat into channels of trade would be established as the principal function of the Board a provision of the law states that it "shall market from time to time all wheat, or contracts for the purchase or delivery of wheat, which the Board may acquire, for such price as it may consider reasonable, with the object of promoting the sale and use of Canadian wheat in world markets."

In Argentina a system of guaranteed minimum prices was in effect for several years, the minimum during 1935-36, the last year of its existence, having been 10 pesos per quintal (0.90 per bushel). No announcement has been made as yet by the Argentine Government as to guaranteed prices for wheat from the coming crop. The Argentine harvest begins in December.

Under the Argentine minimum price scheme a Grain Regulating Board was created with authority to enter the market and purchase wheat at fixed prices whenever world prices as reflected in the principal ocean and river ports should fall below a minimum established by the Government. Any losses sustained in connection with the sale of wheat by the Board at less than the price paid for it, as well as the administrative expenses of the Board, were to be defrayed from a fund derived from the profits realized by the Argentine Government in its purchase and sale of foreign exchange bills.

In Australia direct production and internal marketing bounties and special relief payments to wheat growers, rather than export subsidies, have constituted the principal means taken by the Government in recent years to relieve the distress caused by low wheat prices. Such grants were financed by a flour tax and by direct disbursements from the Federal Treasury. A plan providing for a guaranteed "home consumption price" to growers through the mechanism of a compulsory marketing scheme was enacted by several of the state legislatures in 1935 but was never put into operation.

In Russia all foreign trade is a monopoly of the Soviet Government and is regulated and administered in the light of the general objectives of the Government's economic and financial policy. Exports of wheat, as of other commodities, are centered wholly in the hands of the Government. The latter determines the quantities to be exported each season in accordance with its yearly programme which are not publicly stated. In determining its export policy the Government takes into account such factors as stocks, crop conditions, world prices, the relative exchange value of wheat abroad compared with its value for consumption in the country, and the balance of international payments in general.

Rumania not only maintains a minimum-price system for wheat but pays export premiums on shipments abroad. A tax on flour sold by commercial mills is used to cover export payments but when the flour tax is not sufficient the Government covers the deficit from other sources of revenue. At the present time a premium of 100 lei per quintal (0.20 per bushel) is being paid on all exports to countries with a regime of payments in freely convertible currency. In order to prevent a seasonal decline in prices, the Government will begin purchasing wheat for any needs as soon as harvesting is completed. Such purchases will be made direct from producers.

The Bulgarian Government Grain Monopoly will continue to purchase wheat from farmers at fixed prices. It has been reported that the initial basic price for 1938 crop wheat will be fixed at 400 leva per quintal as compared with 330 leva last year. In the past the monopoly has sold its wheat to domestic mills at prices considerably above world market levels. Its sales for the export market, however, are made to Bulgarian exporters at prices somewhat below those prevailing in foreign markets.

The Yugoslav Privileged Export Co. will continue to purchase wheat from farmers at prices well above export parity. The prices at which the Privileged Export Co. purchases wheat are fixed from time to time by the Government. Prices at which the company will purchase new crop wheat have been fixed at from 144-160 dinare per quintal. Private firms are at liberty to buy wheat in competition with the Privileged Export Co. but can export it only upon receipt of a Government permit only to countries making payment in freely exchangeable foreign credits, which must be delivered to the Yugoslav National Bank.

In Hungary export aids to wheat growers have long constituted an essential part of the Government's policy. Unique among such aids was the "grain ticket" system, which was in force between 1930 and 1934. This was in essence a bounty to producers financed by a processing tax and the revenue obtained by the sale of the "grain tickets" with the objective of maintaining the price to Hungarian farmers above the world parity while at the same time permitting exports at world market prices.

The "grain ticket" system was abolished at the end of the 1933-34 marketing year and the Government adopted a policy of making price stabilization purchases, for which purpose it uses mainly the "Futura" (the central marketing body of the Hungarian co-operatives). In that connection the Government establishes annual minimum prices at which wheat for Government account will be accepted. Such purchases are made only when the price on the free market falls below the fixed minimum. The Government has announced recently that it intends to set up a wheat reserve for the needs of national defence.

In addition to price stabilization measures practically all of the Danubian countries have negotiated special trade and clearing agreements with other European countries, notably with Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Italy. In some cases these provide for export quotas, in others for barter arrangements, and in still others for a combination of both. These agreements enable the Danubian countries to market wheat abroad, in certain cases against full payment and in others with partial payment in convertible currencies.

Although normally an importer of wheat, France, in recent years, has on several occasions found herself with exportable surpluses. Various measures including export subsidies have been utilized by the Government to eliminate or reduce such surpluses. This year again the crop will be considerably in excess of needs probably to the extent of 50 to 60 million bushels. As a result, special measures will again have to be resorted to in order to handle the surplus. Among these will be provision for storage, reduced flour extraction ratios, denaturing of wheat and distillation of wheat into alcohol. Whether export subsidies will be resorted to during the 1938-39 marketing season has not been announced as yet. The National Wheat Board established by a law of August 15, 1936, has wide authority to regulate and control wheat marketing, prices, storage, and transportation. In fact, imports and exports of wheat are a Government monopoly.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

• ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL INDIA IN ITALIAN *

A work that has comprehensively opened up economic India, both in statistical and factual data as well as in ideology, to non-English readers in Italian is Dr. Moni Moulik's *British Financial Policy in India* (Bologna, 1938, 250 pages). The treatment is realistic and the presentation marked by independent thinking.

Poverty and British rule are the two categories that constitute the economic ideology of this work written in lucid Italian. The author, a Research Fellow of the Bengali Institute of Economics, enjoyed

* *La Politica Finanziaria Britannica in India* (Zanchielli, Bologna),

for two years a stipend of the *Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente* (Italian Institute for the Middle and the Far East) for researches at the university of Rome, where he later obtained a doctorate in political science. The statistical data utilized for this work are quite recent and the author has not dwelt at length except when absolutely necessary on the older phases of British financial policy in India.

The commercial aspects of the Government of India Act have been analyzed. The author has not failed to bring out into bold relief the reactions of the Indian industrialists and commercial men as well as associations to the statutory guarantees and safeguards such as are considered to be prejudicial to the interests of India. Indian views on the "home charges" and the "economic tribute" paid to Great Britain have likewise been exhibited. He has done justice to the data and the opinions in this connection as well as in regard to the military and administrative finances. The historical treatment of the loans and public debt is an interesting feature. The tariff policy has been described in its repercussions on Indian industries. The chapters dealing with this and the previous topic are quite substantial in facts and enriched with critical comments and constructive suggestions. There is a short discussion on the transportation policy. Taxation, however, has been discussed somewhat elaborately and its bearings on Indian agriculture have been brought out in a judicious manner.

The chapter on Indian currency and exchange has been interestingly written. In the tenth and the last chapter the author has presented his readers with what may be described as his scheme of financial planning for India in which the constructive proposals in connection with the previous discussions have been placed as the planks of a futuristic programme. His statements are precise and well thought-out.

Dr. Moulik's work has made good use of Government publications and newspaper cuttings. He has tried to be objective in regard to his sources of information, utilizing the different schools of interpretation without bias. The several dozen works quoted by the author exhibit his scientific catholicity and open-mindedness. The work does credit to the economic Seminar of Professor De Stefani under whose directions it was planned and executed. Italian economists can take Moulik as a dependable guide on Indian economic developments and economic thought.

As a keen economic researcher and as a perspicuous writer on economic topics Moulik deserves appreciation. Besides, he has rendered an important service to Indian economists in general by introducing their contributions and methods of analysis to the *milieu* of Italian economists and statesmen.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

VITAMINS AND FOOD REFORM

The sociology of nutrition deserves greater attention in India than it has done up till now. During the early part of the last century, when modern chemistry began to flourish and when microchemistry or the chemistry of small bodies was in the early stages, research workers started to investigate the composition of those substances about which the only known facts were that, in almost unbelievably minute quantities, they exercised an enormous influence upon the health and well-being of human beings.

A number of facts of a general nature had inspired these research workers to investigate this problem. For instance, in the year 1884 the Naval Commander Takaki realised that the fighting abilities of the Japanese Fleet were very much impaired by a disease called beri beri which attacked the sailors and which he traced to the effects of a diet consisting exclusively of rice. He thereupon ordered that the crews' food should be more varied. But this discovery of his—like so many others—which could have paved the way to a solution of the problem, was lost sight of and forgotten for the time being.

Later in 1896 the Dutch doctor Eijkman, director of an Indonesian research station, had been occupied for years with the problem of this mysterious beri beri which appeared so frequently amongst the poorer elements of the populations of Japan, China and the Malay Peninsula as well as amongst those of South America. In particular, he studied the disease as manifested in chickens which he fed on the scraps from a hospital kitchen. But a change in the administration of the hospital ended his opportunities for feeding the chickens on these scraps.

It was then that an astonishing thing happened. The chickens which hitherto had manifested all the signs of beri beri were suddenly cured. They no longer suffered from that cramp of the muscles which is characteristic of the malady. Neither did they show any signs of the usual state of general inflammation of the nerves. Eijkman at once saw the connection which must exist between diet and disease and grasped the nature of the causes to which beri beri could be traced. For the hospital scraps had contained exclusively cereals which had been shelled. And he was now feeding the birds on grains of rice from which the husks had not been removed. It thus became obvious that the husks must contain the substance which cured the birds of the malady.

A quarter of a century after the observation on the part of the Japanese Commander which has been described above, two British scientists advanced the thesis that the human variety of beri beri resulted from erroneous feeding and was not an infectious disease as has previously been supposed by the experts. For beri beri made its appearance everywhere where rice as the staple food was eaten with the husks removed. And in those countries where rice constitutes the main food as in India, not only is the brown outer husk removed, but also the underlying silvery skin. But it is in just this inner silvery skin that the substance is contained which protects human beings from those degenerate manifestations in both the motor and sensory nerves, which are characteristic of beri beri.

In the year 1911, the German biochemist Funk succeeded in isolating the substance contained in the silvery skin of a grain of rice. He called this substance *vitamin*, or the stuff of life. And since then the name has been given to a whole series of food factors, of which the nature has, for the most part, been elucidated during the past 27 years. Some of the most famous research institutes in the world set to work to isolate the vitamin contained in a grain of rice and it was eventually produced in its pure form from yeast in the Bayer laboratories in Elberfeld (Germany) where the formula for its constituents was also discovered. Finally, for the first time in the spring of 1936 the anti-beri beri vitamin, Vitamin B 1, was synthesised.

In the interest of food reform in India, especially in Bengal, we have to counteract the polished rice fashion by all means. It is equally urgent to consider whether wheat consumption *per capita* may be augmented in order to diversify the rice dietary.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Marcus Aurelius, by F. H. Hayward, D.Lit., M.A., B.Sc. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London. 10s. 6d. net.

The value of this monograph on the sixteenth Emperor of Rome will be appreciated not only by those who delight in reading biographies nor by those who put a premium on classical education, but also by men who seek in all things their cultural value. That culture is one-sided (and in that sense it is the negation of culture) which neglects the study of such men as Marcus Aurelius: that great man has a strong appeal because he corresponds more closely to our conception of flawless and angelic virtue than almost any other personage in history. Marcus Aurelius was a saviour of man and the author does not shrink from placing him even by the side of Jesus Christ, suggesting parallels on more points than one; he was a saviour by reason of his ideals, the ideals that he stood for and sought to realise in himself. He had fought the battle of humanity long before the rise of Christian thought could influence public judgment, and the author holds that the height of virtuous ambition would be no more than "desire in life and gentleness to be such a one as Marcus."

P. R. SEN.

Poems, by Eileen Duggan, with an introduction by Walter De la Mare. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1937. 5s. net.

A collection of 37 poems, some with a clear local colour and the rest more universal in tone, may not seem at first to be inviting enough; and the poet does not in this volume venture forth into experimentation of any sort regarding the technique of verses—she does not discard the old and ring in the new poetic measures. But if sincerity is the touchstone of poetry, then the reader will find here solid gold. These poems of Miss Eileen Duggan will never sound hollow. Her gesture in the first of her poems is generous, and she has no pretensions. Do we not all admit in our heart of hearts that 'we are but stumblers in the hinterlands'? Her poetic soul has been fed on nature and on the masters—the bees, the birds and the flowers form the background, and she is sufficiently of the old world (though accidentally belonging to the new) to be religious also. The poems reveal an understanding mind and a heart athirst for beauty, though the selective faculty of her art never sleeps; for she is a poet and

The poet sings—the saint is dumb for ever.

A tone of sadness enters into her song but the poet owns and in her own way communicates "the faith of a blind hound nosing the knee." A reading of the poems will fully corroborate De la

Mare's appreciation of the poet who deserves welcome of the fellowship of poetry all over the world.

PRIYARANJAN SEN,

ADYAR PAMPHLETS :—

1. **Dr. Besant and India's Religious Revival**, by Harendra Nath Datta.

This is a lecture delivered by Mr. Dutt at the T. S. Convention of 1933. He first narrates how the Theosophical Society originated and developed into a world-wide organization from a small beginning. This preface to the theme of the booklet is all relevant ; for the life of Mrs. Besant cannot be viewed in isolation from the Theosophical movement in this country. So Mr. Dutt giving a detailed account of her many-sided activities has to go into the whole question of the origin and spread of Theosophy. Mrs. Besant is doubtless one of the illustrious women who ever paced this earth of ours. By her vast erudition, deep sense of spirituality, rare eloquence, whole-hearted devotion and sacrifices for the land of her adoption, she made herself an object of adoration to us all. But it is too much to say that India owes her religious revival to her alone, though it cannot be denied that she had her own share in the making of the modern India.

A. C. DAS,

2. **The Purpose of Theosophy, Parts 1 & 2**, by Mrs. A. P. Sinnet.

In these two pamphlets Mrs. Sinnet tries to make us understand the aim of Theosophy. According to her, Theosophy is not a religion in the ordinary acceptance of the word. On the contrary, it teaches the fundamental truths of all religions, and directs the devotees to regulate their lives by the knowledge of the secret workings of Nature. Much of what she says relates to the different planes of the world, and, for that matter, of man, to the doctrine of Karma, re-incarnation and all that. She also details a practical course of training for moral and spiritual development. Those who are interested in occultism and yogic experiences of the subtler world will find these two manuals informative and instructive.

A. C. DAS.

Ourselves

[I. *The Late Principal G. C. Bose.*—II. *Professor F. T. Brooks.*—III. *Primary and Adult Education Committee.*—IV. *Health Congress of the Royal Sanitary Institute, London.*—V. *Stipend for Mohammadan Students.*—VI. *Islamic Academy of Research.*—VII. *Khan Bahadur Abdullah Abu Sayied.*—VIII. *The Annual Convocation of the University.*—IX. *University's Delegates.*—X. *Report of Preliminary Scientific, First and Second M.B. Examinations, November, 1938.*—XI. *Election of two Ordinary Fellows.*]

I. THE LATE PRINCIPAL G. C. BOSE

Mr. G. C. Bose, who had been laid up with a carbuncle for about a month, died at his Calcutta residence on the 1st January, 1939, at the age of 86. By the death of Principal Bose Bengal has lost a great educationist, a true patriot, and a sincere friend of students.

The late Mr. Bose joined the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, as a Lecturer in Science immediately after his graduation from the Calcutta University in 1876. In 1882 he proceeded to the United Kingdom as a State Scholar for higher studies in Agriculture. For the next two years he was a student of the Cirencester Agricultural College where he had a distinguished career. On return to India, he started the Bangabasi School in 1885, to which he added a College Department in 1887. The history of these two institutions is a record of immense personal sacrifice on his part and of a rare enthusiasm he evinced in the cause of education which no circumstance, however trying, could diminish. From 1906 till 1926 Principal Bose was associated with the Calcutta University as a Member of the Senate and, later on, as a member of the Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science.

His favourite subject was Botany, which he taught all his life. He wrote treatises on it not only in English but also in Bengali and was thus one of the pioneers who had laboured to enrich our language by making up its deficiency in scientific terminology.

He was remarkable for his active habits and vigour of mind even in old age. He was scarcely known to take a holiday from his work in his beloved College unless compelled by sickness.

We convey our sincere condolence to the members of the bereaved family.

II. PROFESSOR F. T. BROOKS

Professor F. T. Brooks, F.R.S., Head of the Department of Botany, Cambridge University, has been appointed a Special Reader of our University. Professor Brooks has made important discoveries regarding the connexion of fungus with plant diseases. He will attend the Golden Jubilee of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science. It is expected that Professor Brooks will be able to deliver his Readership Lectures by the end of January or early in February next on his way back from Australia.

III. PRIMARY AND ADULT EDUCATION COMMITTEE

The Primary and Adult Education Committee, constituted under Government order in July last year, has invited the co-operation of the University in answering a questionnaire which it has prepared to assist its deliberations. The matter has been referred to a committee consisting of the following members for favour of a report :—

Rai Bahadur Khagendranath Mitra, M.A.

Professor M. Z. Siddiqi, M.A., B.L., PH.D. (Cantab.).

S. P. Chatterjee, Esq., M.SC., PH.D. (Lond.), T.D. (Lond.),

F.G.S.

IV. HEALTH CONGRESS OF THE ROYAL SANITARY INSTITUTE,
LONDON

The Health Congress of the Royal Institute, London, will be held at Scarborough from July 3rd to 8th, 1939. Dr. C. A. Bentley, M.B., D.P.H., D.T.M. & H., D.SC., has been appointed a delegate of this University to the Congress.

V. STIPEND FOR MOHAMMEDAN STUDENTS

Mr. Kazi Eusofall has offered to this University $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. G. P. Notes of the face value of Rs. 4,100 for the annual award of a stipend to deserving Mohammadan students of the Naogaon

Sub-Division. The stipend will be granted on the results of the Matriculation examination.

VI. ISLAMIC ACADEMY OF RESEARCH

The Idara-i-Ma'arif-i-Islamia (the Islamic Academy of Research) held its third session in the last week of December, 1938, under the presidency of the Hon'ble Sir Shah M. Sulaiman, Judge of the Federal Court and Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University, Aligarh. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. Aziz-ul Huque, C.I.E., B.L., M.L.A., Vice-Chancellor, was appointed a representative of this University on the Academy.

VII. KHAN BAHADUR ABDULLAH ABU SAYIED

Khan Bahadur Abdullah Abu Sayied, M.A., M.L.A., whose term of Fellowship expired on the 18th November, 1939, has been re-nominated an Ordinary Fellow of this University.

VIII. THE ANNUAL CONVOCATION OF THE UNIVERSITY

The Annual Convocation will be held at the Presidency College Ground on Saturday, the 11th March, 1939.

IX. UNIVERSITY'S DELEGATES

Dr. P. N. Banerjea, M.A., D.SC., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A., and Dr. Satis Chandra Chatterjee M.A., PH.D., were appointed delegates to represent this University at the First Indian Political Conference at Benares and Indian Philosophical Congress at Allahabad respectively.

Mr. Anathnath Bose, M.A., T.D. (Lond.), was appointed a delegate of this University to the All-India Educational Conference held in Bombay last December.

X. REPORT ON PRELIMINARY SCIENTIFIC, FIRST AND SECOND
M.B. EXAMINATIONS, NOVEMBER, 1938

The number of candidates registered for the Preliminary Scientific M.B. Examination was 55, of whom 41 passed, 14 failed, no one being absent.

The percentage of passes is 74·5.

The number of candidates registered for the First M.B. Examination was 150, of whom 109 passed, 40 failed and 1 was absent.

Of the successful candidates no one obtained Honours.

The percentage of passes is 73·2.

The number of candidates registered for the Second M.B. Examination was 103, of whom 78 passed, 23 failed and 2 were absent.

Of the successful candidates no one obtained Honours.

The percentage of passes is 73·6.

XI. ELECTION OF TWO ORDINARY FELLOWS

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A., who sought re-election to the Senate for another term from among the Registered Graduates, has been declared duly elected an Ordinary Fellow of the University, subject to the approval of His Excellency the Chancellor. Mr. Sailendranath Mitra, M.A., has also been elected an Ordinary Fellow from the same constituency, subject to His Excellency the Chancellor's approval. Both Mr. Banerjee and Mr. Mitra were returned unopposed as the only other candidate for election withdrew from the contest.

We offer our congratulations to Mr. Banerjee, and to Mr. Mitra, who is the Joint-Secretary of the *Calcutta Review*.

NOTIFICATION

EXTERNAL RESEARCH SCHOLARSHIP, EMMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

A Research Studentship of the maximum annual value of £150 will be awarded by the Governing Body of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in July, 1939. It is normally held for two years but may be extended beyond that period on evidence of exceptional merit. The studentship is not tenable by a woman or by a member of Cambridge University. Candidates for the studentship will have to apply to the Master, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, not later than June 30, with the following certificates:—(1) a birth certificate; (2) two certificates of good character; (3) a statement, as precise and full as possible, of the proposed course of research; (4) evidence of general ability and of special fitness for the proposed course of research, supported by letters from not more than two professors and other teachers under whom the applicant has studied; (5) a statement of emoluments or awards, already granted, or likely to be granted, from other bodies or persons, and tenable by the applicant at Cambridge.

MOHSIN OVERSEAS SCHOLARSHIP

A scholarship of the value of £240 per annum from the Mohsin Fund will be open to Moslem candidates domiciled in Bengal in the current year. The scholarship may be enjoyed for a term of two years outside India by an Honours Graduate in Arts or Science. The candidate who is less than 25 years old will be preferred although the maximum age is fixed at 28. If no suitable candidate is available no award will be made this year. Candidates are required to apply to the Assistant Director of Public Instruction for Mohammadan Education, Bengal, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta, on forms that will be supplied to them by the Assistant Director or by the Personal Assistant to the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.

Programme of Career Lectures

Place—ASUTOSH HALL (ASUTOSH BUILDING). Time—3 P.M.

1. Monday, 9th January, 1939, on Bengalees in Commerce and Industry, by Sir P. C. Ray.
2. Wednesday, 11th January, 1939, on Coal Industry, by Mr. J. H. S. Richardson, Andrew Yule & Co., Ltd.
3. Tuesday, 17th January, 1939, on Tea Industry, by Mr. J. Jones, James Finlay & Co., Ltd.
4. Friday, 27th January, 1939, on Coal Industry, by Mr. M. N. Mookerjee, M.L.A., Ex-Chairman, Indian Mining Federation.
5. Tuesday, 31st January, 1939, on Commercial Careers, by Sir Edward Benthall, M.L.A., Bird & Co.
6. Tuesday, 7th February, 1939, on Tea Industry, by Mr. D. C. Ghosh, Jalpaiguri.
7. Friday, 10th February, 1939, on Steel Industry, by Mr. J. J. Ghandy, General Manager, Tata Iron & Steel Co., Ltd.
8. Wednesday, 15th February, 1939, on Cotton Textile, by Mr. A. B. Guha, Dhakeswari Cotton Mills, Ltd.
9. Friday, 17th February, 1939, on Commercial Development in India with special reference to Bengal, by Mr. T. Chapman Mortimer, M.L.A., Bird & Co.
10. Wednesday, 22nd February, 1939, on Jute Industry, by Mr. J. R. Walker, M.L.A., McLeod & Co., Ltd.
11. Friday, 24th February, 1939, on Share Market, by Mr. J. M. Dutt, President, Calcutta Stock Exchange Association, Ltd.
12. Wednesday, 1st March, 1939, on Insurance, by Mr. A. C. Sen, Empire of India Life Assurance Co., Ltd.
13. Wednesday, 8th March, 1939, on Banking and Finance, by Mr. N. W. Chisholm, National Bank of India, Ltd.

14. Friday, 10th March, 1939, on Banking and Finance, by Mr. J. C. Sen, Agent, Calcutta Branch, Comilla Union Bank, Ltd.
15. Wednesday, 15th March, 1939, on Leather Industry, by Rai Bahadur B. M. Das, National Tannery Co., Ltd.
16. Wednesday, 22nd March, 1939, on Shipping, by Mr. G. L. Mehta, Scindia Steam Navigation Co., Ltd.
17. Friday, 24th March, 1939, on Sugar Industry, by Mr. D. P. Khaitan, M.L.A., Birla Bros., Ltd.
18. Tuesday, 28th March, 1939, on Paper Industry.
19. Thursday, 30th March, 1939, on Jute Industry, by Mr. Jadunath Ray, Premchand Jute Mills, Ltd.
20. Monday, 3rd April, 1939, on Small Industries, by Mr. Satis-chandra Mitra, Director of Industries, Bengal.
21. Wednesday, 5th April, 1939, on Small Industries, by Mr. N. N. Rakshit, Tatanagar Foundry Co., Ltd.
22. Wednesday, 19th April, 1939, on Calcutta Port, by Mr. N. K. Majumdar, Registrar, Joint Stock Companies, Bengal.

SENATE HOUSE :

The 5th January, 1939.

D. K. SANYAL,

Secretary, Appointments Board.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

Political History of Ancient India (Fourth Edition), by Prof. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 582 + xxiii. Rs. 7-8.

Sangitiki (in Bengali), by Mr. Dilipkumar Ray. D/Cr. 16mo pp. 292. Rs. 2-0.

Bankim Parichaya (in Bengali) D.F'cap. 16mo pp. 212. As. 8.

Patanjali Yoga Darsana, Royal 8vo pp. 731. Rs. 5-0.

Dina Chandidas, Part II, by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A. D/Crown 8vo pp. 482. Rs. 6-0.

The Decline of the Saljuqid Empire, by Dr. Sanauallah, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A. Demy 8vo pp. 150 + xxxviii.

Present-Day Banking in India, by Dr. Ramchandra Rau, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 784 + xx.

Kali Puja Chitravali, by Messrs. Chaitanyadeb Chatterjee and Bishnupada Raychaudhuri, D-C 8vo pp. 70. Rs. 1-4.

Statistical Theory of Estimation, by Prof. R. A. Fisher, Sc.D., F.R.S. (*Readership Lecture*). Demy 8vo pp. 45 + viii.

The German Primer, by Mr. H. G. Biswas, M.Sc. Royal 8vo pp. 260 + xiv. Rs. 2-0.

The Spirit of Indian Civilization, by Dr. Dharendra Nath Roy, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 296 + xxiv.

Emerson: His Muse and Message, by Rao Sahib Dr. Ramkrishna Rao, M.A., L.T., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 313 + xii.

Books in the Press

JANUARY, 1939

1. History of the Bengali Novel, by Prof. Srikumar Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D.
2. The Problem of Minorities, by Dr. Dharendra Nath Sen, M.A., Ph.D.
3. Successors of the Satavahanas in Lower Deccan by Dr. Dineshchandra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.
4. The Evolution of Indian Industry, by Dr. Rohinimohan Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.
5. The Nyāya Theory of Knowledge, by Dr. Satish Chandra Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D.
6. Sree Krishna Bijay, by Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A.
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CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

II. ANCIENT INDIAN TEXTS

Barhut Inscriptions, edited and translated with critical notes, by B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.), and Kumar Gangananda Sinha, M.A. Crown 4to pp. 139. 1926. Rs. 3.

E. J. Thomas, Under-Librarian, Cambridge University Library :—" I find the book an extremely useful one, both because it makes accessible an important collection of inscriptions, and also for the great amount of learning and research which the authors have embodied in it.

" The work constitutes a long step forward both as regards our actual knowledge of the inscriptions, as well as in the grammatical analysis and the palaeographical studies."

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Prof. Hermann Jacobi :—".....many students will be thankful for the various information in Section III, partly reproduced from different sources and partly supplied by the Editors themselves."

L. D. Barnett :—" The book shews great learning and industry, and will certainly be useful to students."

Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khanda-giri Caves, by Prof. Benimadhab Barua, M.A., D.Lit. Royal 8vo pp. 324. Rs. 7-8.

A critical edition of fourteen ancient Brahmi inscriptions and a table of Brahmi alphabet, the inscriptions including the well-known Hathigumpha inscription of King Kharavela. A

comprehensive work which contains exhaustive references to all previous publications on the subject, and is calculated to create a real landmark for the new readings, and especially for the notes dealing with the personal history of Kharavela of Orissa, his place in history, and his imperishable works of art and architecture in the rough-hewn Orissan caves on the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Hills.

III. INDIAN ART AND ICONOGRAPHY

Vishnudharmottara, by Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Ph.D., *second and revised edition*. Royal 8vo pp. 130. 1928. Rs. 3.

It contains one of the oldest and most exhaustive treatises on ancient Indian painting, its technique, subject-matter and form.

Brahmanical Gods in Burma (A chapter of Indian Art and Iconography), by Niharranjan Ray, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 106, with 23 plates, 1932. Rs. 2-4.

This monograph is an outcome of the studies and researches made by the author in the domain of Burmese Art, Archaeology and History. The materials were collected by him during the archaeological tours that he had made throughout Burma in 1927 and 1929. He has made a detailed analytical study of the numerous Brahmanical images scattered all over the Peninsula and has tried to bring out fully their iconographic significance and their bearing upon early Indo-Burmese historical and cultural relations.

IV. HISTORY

1. ANCIENT INDIA

Chronology of Ancient India (From the times of the Rig-Vedic King Divodāsa to Chandragupta Maurya with glimpses into the Political History of the period), by Sitanath Pradhan, M.Sc., Ph.D.. Brihaspati. Royal 8vo pp. 291 + 30. 1927. Rs. 6.

In this extremely interesting and erudite work on the Chronology and Political history of Vedic and Buddhist India, enormous masses of evidence derived from Vedic, Epic, Puranic,

Buddhistic, Jain, Epigraphic and other sources have been collected, compared and contrasted. Dr. Pradhan has at last discovered the long-expected thread through the bewildering labyrinth of Vedic Chronology and has handled the question of Nanda-Sisunāga-Pradyota-Bimbisārian Chronology and political history perhaps with the most accurate critical skill and precision. This pioneer work, completed in 1921, was submitted to the University of Calcutta as his Doctorate thesis and contains entirely new findings in almost every page of the book and the criticisms of the positions of Pargiter, Macdonell, Keith, Tilak, K. P. Jayaswal, Abinash Chandra Das, D. R. Bhandarkar, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Fleet, etc., reflect a high credit on the author. It is an invaluable and indispensable companion and guide to all students, professors and lovers of Ancient Indian History and Culture.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee—“An erudite thesis,” “of no small credit,” “of much excellence,” “of special excellence,” “extremely gratifying to note,” “such a learned thesis,” “has thrown unexpected yet welcome light on the political history of the Pre-Asokan Period,” “original research of unquestionable merit,” “appraised by the investigators of the first rank,” etc., etc.

Mm. Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University—“It is refreshing to find that the writer has not * * been slow to strike out new lines for himself and examine theories which had hitherto been regarded as almost sacrosanct.”

Dr. M. Winternitz, Ph.D., Prague, Czechoslovakia—“The ancient chronology of India is a thorny subject, and the book will no doubt, evoke much criticism. But the author has brought together valuable data from a vast amount of literature which will remain useful, even if the chronology may not be accepted by scholars in many cases.”

T. Jolly, Professor of Sanskrit, Wurzburg, Germany—“This is a very learned work, abounding in new theories and discussions of old ones and in original Sanskrit quotations. The author has found that most of the Kings and Rishis of the Rigveda are mentioned in the Epics and the Puranas, etc., as well, and has based a new chronology of the Rigvedic Period on this observation. His genealogies of Indian dynasties are very interesting.”

Dr. L. D. Barnett, Ph.D., London.—“Mr. Pradhan's object is to correct and as far as possible to bring into synchronistic connection the ancient pedigrees of Kings and others which are handed down in Vedic, Epic and Puranic literature.* * * He deals accordingly with the Vedic Divodāsa, his contemporaries, the Aikāvāka Daśaratha, etc.,* * * and he then essays to determine the succession in Magadha from Bimbisara to Chandragupta. On the basis of these conclusions and reckoning an average of 28 years for a generation he fixes the Mahābhārata war at c. 1152 B.C. confirming the result by astronomical calculations, and makes c. 1500 B.C. the starting point of the later Vedic period,* * * He moreover demolishes the Vedic Chronology of Dr. A. C. Das and even criticizes unfavourably the astronomical arguments set forth by the late Lokamanya Tilak in his Orion—which shows much courage and independence. His work shows immense industry and ingenuity and there is certainly “something in it.”* * * The attempt to adjust and harmonise the traditional pedigrees is worth making and Mr. Pradhan's essay is an energetic step in that direction.

Dr. L. D. Barnett (again)—“The book ‘Chronology of Ancient India’ seems to me to be a remarkably able work and its general conclusions are reasonable and probable, though, naturally there may be some difference of opinion on some points.”

Prof. Vanamali Chakravarti, M.A.—"Your work would do credit to any European savant working in a first class European university. * * The honour of writing the first scientific book on Vedo-Puranic Chronology belongs to you and not to Pargiter * * * I note with great pleasure your happy identification of the Rigvedic Rishi Mudgala (Rv. X, 102) with the husband of Indrasena, the daughter of King Nala of Nisadha; and of Divodāsa, king of Kāsi with Atithigva Divodāsa of the Vedas, who together with the Aikṣvāka Daśaratha, quelled the Dāsa King Sambara; your resolution of the Ikṣvāku dynasty from Daśaratha downwards, into two branches pointing out that kings mentioned just after Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya, were the descendants of the Sravasti King Lava is a masterpiece in the reconstruction of Ancient Indian History; your determination of the date of the great Bhārata battle at about the middle of the twelfth century B. C. and of events of the Rāmāyaṇa as occurring about three hundred years earlier would provide the future historian with source to build up ancient Indian Chronology * * * Your assignment of Vedic Janaka and Yāñavalkya to five generations after Śrīkṛṣṇa and Arjuna seems beyond challenge. Your attempt to prove that a portion of the Deccan was occupied by the Rigvedic Aryans, and that Anga, Kośala, Magadha, Videha, etc., were colonized by them rather early, your explanation of the mythology of Ahalyā and Indra, your emendation of not a few individual errors in some of the names of Puranic kings, notably in the name 'Abhihit,' your bold and well-established finding that the Harivaṃśa does contain wrong synchronism about Brahmādatta and Pratapa, and that the Purāṇas are wrong in making Kṛta of Dvimidha's line, the pupil of Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya—these and many other points will be of absorbing interest to scholars. I immensely enjoy your courageous refutation of 'the Orion' as well as of Mr. A. C. Das's geological antiquity of the Rigvedic period which might be based on N. B. Pavée's book 'Aryavartie Home.' In the post-Vedic period, your identification of Śiśunāga with Nandivardhana and of Kākavarṇa with Mahā-Nandin is really difficult to reject. I am sure no honest historian will be able in future to pass by your great production."

Asoka (*Carmichael Lectures, 1923*), by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Demy 8vo pp. 428. 1932. Rs. 5.

In this book the author has set forth his views about the Buddhist monarch after a careful and systematic study for a quarter of a century not only of the inscriptions of Asoka but also of the valuable translations and notes on these records by distinguished scholars in the field of Ancient Indian History.

Dr. Truman Michelson says in *Jour. Amer. Ori. Soc.*, Vol. 46, pp. 258-59 :—

"In this connection it may be observed that the notes on the translations are ordinarily very full, so that even the publication of the new edition of C.I.I. will not render this part of Bhandarkar's work superfluous; and it cannot be denied that occasionally he has made real contributions in the interpretation (e.g., the sense of *samāja*)."

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar says in *An. Bhan. Ori. Res. Ins.*, Vol. VII, p. 169 :—

"A careful perusal of the book enables one to visualise the pious Monarch and his manifold religious and administrative activities to a much better extent than had been hitherto possible with the Aśokan literature already in the field."

Political History of Ancient India (From the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty), by Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. Fourth Edition, *Revised and Enlarged*. Rs. 7-8.

Dr. Raychaudhuri's work in the domain of Indology is characterised by a rare sobriety of judgment and by a constant reference to original sources and this makes his contributions specially valuable. We have here probably the first attempt on scientific lines to sketch the political history of India including the pre-Buddhistic period from about the 9th century B. C. and the work is one of great importance to students of Indian history. The revised edition embodies the results of the most recent researches in the subject. A new feature of this edition is the insertion in certain chapters of introductory verses from literature to show that poets and sages of Ancient India were not altogether unmindful of the political vicissitudes through which their country passed.

Prof. J. Jolly, Würzburg :—".....What an enormous mass of evidence has been collected and discussed in this work, an important feature of which is the quotation of the original texts along with their translation which makes it easy to control the conclusions arrived at. The ancient geography not less than the ancient history of India has been greatly furthered by your researches and much new light has been thrown on some of the most vexed problems of Indian Archaeology and Chronology....."

Prof. F. Otto Schrader :—"I have read the book with increasing interest and do not hesitate to say that it contains a great many details which will be found useful by later historians....."

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Professor W. Geiger, München (Germany) :—"I highly appreciate Mr. Raychaudhuri's work as a most happy combination of sound scientific method and enormous knowledge of both Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical literature. The work is written in lucid style in spite of its intricate subject and affords a mass of valuable evidence throwing much light on the whole period of Indian History dealt within it. I see with special pleasure and satisfaction that we are now enabled by the author's penetrating researches to start in Indian Chronology from the 9th instead of the 6th or 5th century B.C."

Professor Hultzsch, Halle (Germany) :—"The Political History of Ancient India is the outcome of extensive researches and throws much light on the darkest and most debated periods of Indian history."

Studies in Indian Antiquities, by Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. xvi + 212. 1932. Rs. 2-8.

This little volume is, in the main, a collection of essays, which is intended to serve as an introduction to the study of the epics and the geographical cantos of the *Puranas*. The dissertations on the epics have won the approbation of scholars

like Washburn Hopkins, Winternitz and Jacobi, the last of whom congratulated the author on the verification of the Bhāgavata credo in the Besnagar inscription of the second century B.C. In the geographical sections the author discusses the vexed problems of Indo-Aryan migration and expansion and the location of Vanga and examines critically the Puranic conception of the world and the theories regarding the island continents, group-mountains, etc., adumbrated in the *Bhuvana-Kosha*. There are also some interesting notes on the history and chronology of Bhoja of Kanauj and the Senas of Bengal.

Prof. E. J. Rapson (Cambridge):—".....Dr. Raychaudhuri's essays on Indian history and Antiquities are always well-informed, thoughtful and suggestive."

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Professor H. Jacobi (Germany):—"The verification of the Bhāgavata credo in the Besnagar Inscription is a find on which you may be congratulated."

Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System, by U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History, Presidency College (Calcutta), and Lecturer in the Departments of History and Economics, Calcutta University. Royal 8vo pp. 313 + xvi. 1919. Rs. 5-8.

Prof. E. J. Rapson:—"It is a valuable contribution to the Economic History of Ancient and Mediæval India.....The widely scattered evidence contained in the inscriptions and in copper-plate land-grants of Northern India has never before been so carefully collected and discussed."

Prof. A. B. Keith:—"It is a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of the subject by reason of its objectivity and the effort made to elucidate the Kautliya Arthaśāstra by examination of the other evidence, in special that of inscriptions bearing on the topic. On the points examined the comparison of different records often throws admirable light."

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Prof. Louis Finot:—"An excellent contribution to a very important matter in the history of India. It is based on a careful study of the texts and affords many useful observations which will prove a great help for scholars who will take the subject in their turn."

Sir Jadunath Sarkar in a notice of the book in the "*Modern Review*" writes :—"The author who is a practised writer on Hindu polity and administration has carried our knowledge of the subject a good deal forward by concentrating light from the inscriptions by means of painstaking synthesis, while his knowledge of French and German has enabled him to utilize the latest published researches of European Orientalists. His 'Glossary of fiscal terms' will be particularly helpful not only to students of Ancient Indian polity, but also to epigraphists and Sanskritists in general.....The author's wide outlook and far-ranging comparisons will demand careful consideration of his theories on the part of his critics, even when they differ from him."

Prof. Rakhaldas Banerjee in a letter to the Registrar of the Calcutta University writes :—"This book by Dr. Ghoshal is one of the very best among your publications."

The Acta Orientalia :—"This is a well-written and very useful study, in which the author has given a full analysis of the numerous details contained in the *Arthasāstra* and the law books, with copious illustrations from the epics and general literature, as well as from inscriptions and non-Indian sources. The value of the book is enhanced by the addition of a good glossary of fiscal terms."

Dr. E. J. Thomas :—"I much admire the mastery with which the author has treated the great mass of his material and the sobriety and insight with which he has treated the subject."

The Times Literary Supplement :—"The Hindu revenue system, on the history of which Professor Ghoshal speaks with high authority, is to be reckoned as one of the political achievements of the human race.....The chief authorities are the *Śrūti*s, the *Leviticus* of Hindu scripture, and the famous *Arthasāstra*, or Book of Government, by *Kautilya*, a Western Indian of about the third century A.D. The rules and maxims of these authorities, says Professor Ghoshal, 'surpass the achievements of classical antiquity and tend to approach the ideas of European thinkers in the 18th and early 19th centuries.' This estimate seems fully warranted."

Dr. L. D. Barnett writes in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* :—"His treatment is scholarly and judicious and he has thrown much light on the obscure problems of ancient Indian revenue-administration.....I heartily agree on essentials with him."

American Economic Review :—"This is an important and scholarly contribution to the history of public finance in India."

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Dr. Wilhelm Geiger writes in the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* :—"Ich habe beide Werke [*Contributions and Agrarian System*] mit größtem Interesse gelesen und glaube der Zustimmung aller sachgenossen sicher zu sein wenn ich dem Vf. danke für seine vortreffliche Arbeit. Die Darstellung ist klar und beruht auf gründlicher Fachkenntnis in volkswirtschaftlichen Dingen und auf ausgiebiger Verwertung der Literatur. In seinem Urteil und in seinen Folgerungen ist der Vf. sehr vorsichtig, und er versäumt auch nicht nachdrücklich darauf hinzuweisen, wo die Literaturangaben nicht ausreichen um weitergehende Schlüsse darauf zu bauen. Im besonderen möchte ich auf das Kapitel "Summary and Conclusion" in den "*Contributions*" p. 271 ff hinweisen, wo die herrschenden Tendenzen in der Entwicklung des indischen Finanzwesens klar herausgehoben sind und auf die Analogien im Wirtschaftsleben anderer Völker auch aus neuer Zeit hingewiesen wird. Sehr danken

swert ist auch das den "Contributions" beigefügte Glossar der "fiscal terms." Ich meine, nicht nur wir Indianisten, auch die Volkswirtschaftler, die auf die Geschichte und ihre Lehren achten, werden aus dem Studium von GHOSHAL'S Schriften reichen Nutzen ziehen."

The English Historical Review :—"Great value attaches to Professor U. N. Ghoshal's *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System* (Calcutta University Press, 1929). The work is characterized by objectivity and wide reading, and the principles laid down in the *Arthashastra*, the *Smṛiti*, Epic and Purana literature are given reality by the detailed account from the inscriptions and other sources of the history of the revenue system of Northern India from 300 B.C. to A.D. 1200. Especial importance attaches to the efforts made to ascertain the precise sense of a large number of fiscal terms, some of which as *bahbhāga* or *kara* bore various senses at different periods and places.....The Glossary of fiscal terms (pp. 289-300) deserves the careful attention of all workers in the field of Sanskrit lexicography and epigraphy. Of more general interest are the author's conclusions as to the incidence of land-revenue. He makes out quite a satisfactory case against the exaggeration, even by Vincent Smith, of the demands of Hindu kings and it is quite fair to stress the constitutional theory (p. 18) that taxes were the royal reward for protection as affording a measure of security to the subject against excessive expenditure.....It is probable that the author is right in his view (p. 287) that the Moslems in great measure merely adapted Hindu methods rather than attempted to impose their own fiscal system. The present system has also inherited much from Hindu practice, a fact which adds greatly to the interest of the book."

Archiv Orientalni :—"The work of Professor Ghoshal will be welcomed by many students not only of History but also of Economics. The author follows in detail the evolution of the various sources of revenue and their administration in India, as they are reflected in the literature, inscriptions and other records of the past. The frequent annotations show that he not only made use of the extensive native sources but that on occasions he tried to compare his subject-matter with the corresponding phenomena of the west.....In the preface the author indicates that he attempts to set forth a complete account of the origin and development of the Ancient Indian Revenue System...to form a just and balanced estimate of the Ancient Indian civilization on its material base.....to trace many institutions of Mediaeval and of Modern India to their roots in the past—and in this endeavour he has surely obtained remarkably fortunate results."

American Economic Review :—"This is an important and scholarly contribution to history of public finance in India. It is a compilation of facts regarding public revenues and expenditures gleaned from an exhaustive study of Hindu literature, Hindu works on law and polity and the historical records of States, from the earliest collections of hymns and prayers down to 1200 A.D. Interwoven with the presentations is an occasional comparison with conditions in mediæval Europe and with the canons of taxation of Sismondi and Adam Smith."

Pre-Historic India, by Panchanan Mitra, M.A., Ph.D.
Second Edition, *Revised and Enlarged*. Demy 8vo
pp. 542 (with 53 plates). 1927. Rs. 7.

One of the pioneer works on Indian pre-history by a young Indian scholar, who is well posted in the latest works on this subject.

Contents:—Chap. I.—Races and Cultures in India—Earlier Studies and present outlook. Chap. II.—The Geological Background; Geographical and Palæo-Geographical features. Chap. III.—The Palæontological Basis—The Human ancestry—The

cradle-land—The Siwalik Primates—Fossil men outside India. Chap. IV.—The Earliest Artifacts of Pre-Chellean India (probably more than a lac of years old). Chap. V.—Early Palæolithic Phases—Chellean, Acheullean and Moustrian types. Chap. VI.—Pleistocene cave-life—Karnul. Chap. VII.—Late Palæolithic and Mesolithic cultures—The Caspian Industry stations. Chap. VIII.—Prehistoric Cave-art and Rock-carvings. Chap. IX.—The Neolithic types in India. Chap. X.—The Neolithic culture-stations. Chap. XI.—Prehistoric Metallurgy. Chap. XII.—Mohenjo-Daro—A remarkable Discovery of an Eneolithic Site—Harappa and Nal—Sir John Marshall's reports. Chap. XIII.—Prehistoric Copper and Bronze finds from other sites. Chap. XIV.—The Indian Megaliths—Their Builders and Origin. Chap. XV.—The Megalithic Structures—Their architectural features, contents and distribution in India. Chap. XVI.—From extinct to living types—Mammals—The Bayana, Sialkot, Nala, Mohenjo-Daro and Adichanallur Human remains. Chap. XVII.—Prehistoric potteries and terracottas of India. Chap. XVIII.—Culture—Sequence and Origins.

Agrarian System in Ancient India (*Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1930*), by Upendranath Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 136. 1930. Rs. 2-8.

Prof. A. B. Keith :—"It is an excellent work manifesting once more the author's wide reading and knowledge of things both Indian and of the world beyond and his power of drawing sound and illuminating conclusions from evidence carefully collected, carefully sifted, and effectively adduced. It forms a notable and welcome addition to our knowledge."

The Times Literary Supplement :—"Another of Dr. Ghoshal's valuable studies in ancient Indian culture and politics."

Prof. E. J. Rapson :—"I have read the book with great interest and with much admiration for the patience and the good judgment which the author has shown in collecting and discussing the widely scattered information which may be gleaned from literature and inscriptions as to the nature of the land-tenures in Mediaeval Northern India."

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland :- "The four lectures comprised in this book are an able and on the whole an instructive survey of the relations of the Crown to the land in ancient India. Some very interesting and important developments are made clear in the course of these studies such as the gradual extension of assignments and the system of Chief's estates introduced under the Raput dynasties."

The Evolution of Indian Polity, by R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore. Demy 8vo pp. 192. 1920. Rs. 6.

Sources of Law and Society in Ancient India (*Thesis for the Degree of Law*), by Nareschandra Sen, M.A., D.L. Demy 8vo pp. 109. 1914. Re. 1-8.

Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, by Sylvain Lévi Jean Przyluski and Jules Bloch. Translated into English, by Prabodhchandra Bagchi, M.A., D.Lit. Demy 8vo pp. 216. 1929. Rs. 2-8.

The History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, by B. M. Barua, M.A. (Cal.), D.Lit. (Lond.). Royal 8vo pp. 468. 1921. Rs. 10-8.

Orissa in the Making, by Bijaychandra Mazumdar, with an introductory Foreword by Sir Edward A. Gait, M.A., K.C.S.I., Retd. Lieut.-Governor of Bihar and Orissa. Crown 8vo pp. 247. 1925. Rs. 4-8.

This work, which has no rival in the field, presents a mass of new facts relating to the early history of Orissa, and sets out the hitherto unnoticed course of events which culminated in the emergence of Orissa as a distinct national and linguistic unit. How the author has executed this work successfully after having been engaged for many years in his research work in Orissa, has been noticed by Sir Edward A. Gait in the introductory Foreword spoken of above.

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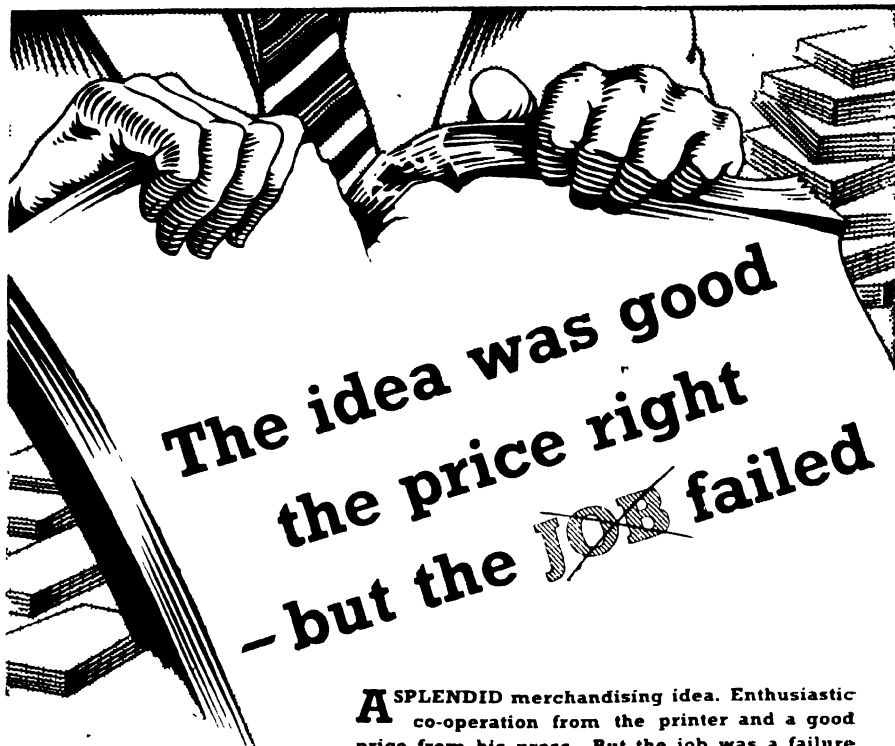
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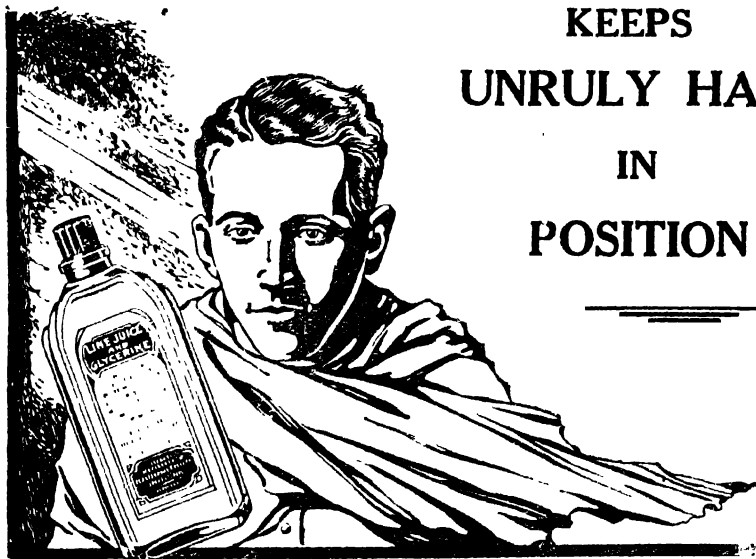
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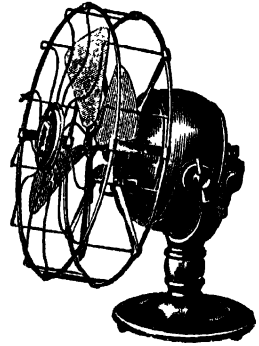
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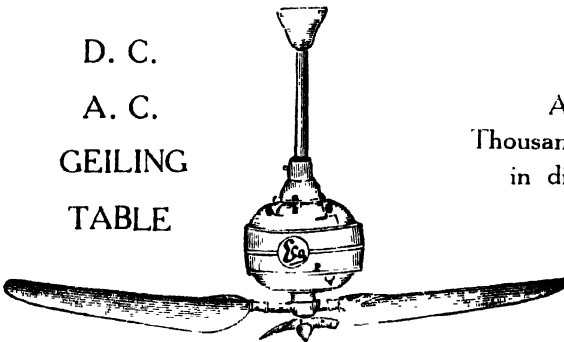
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MARCH, 1939

LAND TENURES IN SOUTH INDIA

SIR A. P. PATRO, K.C.I.E., Kt.

AT the present moment the subject which is of great importance in the country and which affects the vital welfare of rural population is the relationship between the landlord and the tenant and the incidence of land tax and rent. The system of Land Tax prevails in all the provinces and districts under the Ryotwari Settlement. The latter is known as Ryoti System adopted in the permanently Settled Estates in South India. The Government of the country conferred security of tenure and ownership of the holding on the cultivator of the land and granted him a Patta by which the cultivating ryot had a sort of freehold of the holding contained in the Patta, subject to his regular payment of revenue or land tax to the Sircar treasury. He could not be ejected at will. This is the Ryotwari System. According to Munro's scheme, the cultivated lands had to be surveyed and plotted and each plot or field numbered, and an assessment was fixed on the field which was arrived at with reference to the quality of the soil, nearness of the market and communications, and prices prevailing in the neighbourhood. In a summary way the capacity of the field for bearing the assessment was arrived at. Government divested itself of the proprietary right in the holding, the Pattadar became absolute owner

subject to regular payment of assessment. The Ryotwari settlement was liable to revision under Executive Orders of Government every thirty years for purposes of determining the real assessment corresponding to the rise of prices and improvement of the holding at the expense of Government. Standing Orders of the Revenue Board and the Revenue Code do not make any provision for remission of land tax proportionate to the fall of prices of produce. Remission could at discretion be granted if there was not an anna crop on the land. There was no limit for enhancement at re-settlements, by legislative rules. Executive Orders carried out the re-settlement. The central fact is that the issue of Patta to the cultivator carried with it the interest in the holding.

Permanent Settlement Regulation confirmed the Chiefs of the States they were in possession of even prior to the Mohamedan Rule under which they were in possession even as feudal Chiefs. The Inam Regulations and the Inam Settlement confirmed the right of ownership of the Inamdar in the village or villages. The Inamdars had the right and title before the Inam Settlement and this was only confirmed subject to payment of *shrotriem* and other duties. It should be noted, the cultivating ryot in Inams had no fixity of tenure or permanent occupancy rights till 1935 when Inams were defined as Estates in the Estates Land Act. This affords a key to the solution of the problem in Zamindaris. Prior to the Permanent Settlement, as in the case of Ryotwari Settlement in later years, a rough estimate of the income from the villages in the estate was made for purposes of arriving at *peiskush* payable to the Sircar, and then the whole area under the particular Chief was confirmed, his right and title. There was no estimate of the rent payable by individual cultivators. There was no individual survey and settlement. The total *jamma* of the village was furnished by the village headman. This was not necessary in this case as it was not intended to ascertain the incidence in the sharing system. In the *varam* rents in kind, the individual cultivators were entirely out of the picture. What was cared for was the probable *jamma* of the area and not of the liability of the cultivating ryot nor an estimate of his share of produce. He was, as it were, a serf under the orders of the Chief in the feudal tenure.

3. One of the important factors which influenced the determination of *jumma* was the services rendered by the Chiefs of the area. The Zamindars were to maintain peace and tranquillity in the area and protect the boundaries and to assist the Sircar with their services

with men and money when necessary. The old accounts of the Zamindaris show that they were maintaining a semi-military force. They had even to go with their irregular forces in aid of the Sircar at any time and put down all internal risings and rebellions. From the existing service grants recognised by Government of the day the Patros, Sirdars, Mokhasas; the Doratanams, the Naick and Paick Inams in the Circars, Rajus and Naidu Mokhasas of Kondaveedu or the Palygars in southern parts—all these various military holders were under these Chiefs. In the South, the function of the Zamindar was not merely collection of revenue but mainly the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in and out of their area. This was one of their outstanding functions. This class of Zamindars is different from the Capitalists who purchased Zamindaris and thus invested their capital as they do in Banks. This distinction should always be kept in view.

The country Ballads everywhere—as for example, Bobbili ballads, still current in rural areas by wandering minstrels—narrate the glorious deeds, feats of valour, courage displayed by the Chieftains and followers of the rival Chiefs in charge of the Estates. In the Kimidi, Kallikote, Surada, Ghunsoor, Vizianagaram, Bobbili, Jeypore and Krishna there are Mokhasas and Inams held by the Sirdars, Patros, Rajus, Doras, Naicks for rendering meritorious service to their Chiefs. These Chiefs were the feudal lords since the Mohammadan Rule. They were not created by the Permanent Settlement. It is a misunderstanding of the real situation and ignorance of history to term these Chiefs of Estates as mere rent collectors. In the adjoining Northern districts Orissa Feudatory Chiefs and States still continue. The country south of Rushikalya was more peaceful, while in the north the Chiefs remained as feudal or feudatory States. The British authorities found there was no regular revenue paid by any of the Chiefs in the Southern country, they maintained a large retinue of Sibbendi sepoy, naiks, etc., nevertheless they were held responsible for the Sircar's revenue. They easily showed nil balances and these Chiefs more often defied the Collector. Hence the British agents wanted to enter into a Permanent Settlement with these Chiefs to secure peace and tranquillity in the country and fixity of revenue. The Permanent Settlement created no new rights but only confirmed what the Chiefs enjoyed before under the Mohammadan Rule. The Chiefs were willing to enter into this engagement as they would be free from the oppressive demands of the Collectors and the

Chief would have his own way otherwise. There was no question of the cultivating ryot ever considered in the Scheme. All the forests, wastes and uncultivated lands, irrigation sources vested in the Chief, and the Company's Government gave a *Sannad* in confirmation of the right.

It is the spirit of the Permanent Settlement that we have to take into account. Regulation XXVIII of 1802 did not confer on or consider the rights of permanent occupancy or fixity of rent, much less a permanent settlement of rent payable by the tenant. It would have been very easy to pass a Regulation defining the rights and liabilities *inter se* if it was intended at all and fix the rent payable by the cultivator. Numerous Regulations relating to village organization were passed including the one for Karnams and Patta which could apply to Ryotwari areas as well. The absence of any such Regulation is proof positive that rents payable by ryots were not ascertained or determined in any of the preliminary steps taken before passing Regulation XXVIII of 1802. The Rent Recovery Act of 1869 is an unimpeachable item of evidence corroborating the above position. It is too much to say that the authors were ignorant of the conditions of Permanent Settlement.

Before we discuss this matter further, let us go back to the incidence of taxation in Ryotwari areas. For many years past, public men in India have been pressing for the revision of land assessment and for fixing the same by legislation without recourse to executive orders for re-settlement. The justice of this was conceded and the resolution of the Legislature in Madras, fixing that $1\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. should be the maximum rate of increase was adopted in 1934, still the amount of tax as it stands in case of districts which were re-settled prior to the said resolution, during the period between 1914 to 1929, is high and oppressive. It was an extraordinary period of high prices for land assessment. Land revenue was a Reserved Subject administered by irresponsible agency. The then Ministers had no effective control. The bureaucratic Government had their own way in spite of protests and censure motions. The prices have now fallen very low, the economic distress is severe in Ryotwari areas, more serious than in some Estates. The justice of the claim for revision of land assessments is further established by periodical occurrence of scarcity and famine, partly due to failure of monsoon and partly on account of heavy assessments made by Government. Life and living

have deteriorated. In the last five or six years Government have been granting remissions of land revenue at the rate of 50 or 70 lakhs of rupees a year. It is well known that the poor ryot receives no benefit under this.

The remission in the case of a five-rupee or ten-rupee Pattadar will be a rupee or two, and it will not go to him probably beyond the Karnam. There are 80 % of these who pay an assessment of Rs. 10 or below. The economic enquiries were carried on twenty-five years ago. The book on "Studies in Rural Economics" published by me amply established the urgency of the problem. "Some South Indian Villages" published later by the University and the recent enquiries conducted under the supervision of Dr. Thomas, University Professor, and the report of a Special Officer to enquire into agricultural debts, establish the fact that, taking the Jail diet as a basis for living, the ryots in the Ryotwari villages are not able to secure even that. Times have changed, the power of relieving the situation now rests with popular representatives, it is their first and fundamental duty to take up this work instead of dabbling in ancient usages and practices in a disturbed period of the country to ascertain the rate of rent in 1802. The standard of living has become low and the purchasing power is reduced to a minimum; how could there be rural welfare and rural uplift when the economic outlook of the village is gloomy and despondent? An economic enquiry must precede the rent enquiry. What is the cause or special reason for the drastic or revolutionary policy towards Estates only, when the condition in Ryotwari areas demands more immediate attention? Will this question be taken up immediately?

It is said very often without the least understanding of the economic condition of the ryot that he should improve production of the holding, but that demands the possession of good cattle, improved manure, rotation of crops, easy marketing and cheap credit. How could he secure all these with a debt hanging heavy round his neck and heavy assessment payable to Government at an untimely period of the year when the prices of produce are low at harvest time. Even the old *kistbandhi* period is not changed by this Government. The ryots move in a vicious circle, not the assessment alone. There is also customary expenditure on ceremonies demoralising practice of Sahukar and unemployment during a great part of the year. Cheap money is not available. To him, the rural co-operative societies

are only money-lending agencies run by "intermediaries" for their own benefit. If it reaches the ryot, it is at great sacrifice. To him the co-operative banks are a great failure and to some they are a danger, a temptation to borrow money which they cannot repay according to terms. The present state is also brought about by the ryots' extravagance during the period of boom. During that period he adopted a higher standard of life and living and his needs were multiplied, an artificial standard of life was created, and with the fall of prices of produce the crash came about. He had recourse to credit, debt and interest multiplied and threatened to swallow his holding. Remission of assessment did not materially help him. The application of a uniform method of distribution of remission on a percentage basis contributed little to relieve his economic distress. The economic conditions vary from district to district and taluq to taluq in the same district. Remission, even in affected areas, has not been an abiding relief. Government, therefore, should undertake to fix the principles of land revenue assessment on a permanent basis after making a thorough enquiry by a competent Board. It is distressing to observe that the Agricultural Loans Act and the Land Improvement Act which were amended and rules thereunder were altered to enable a ryot to borrow from Government sufficient to clear his encumbrance and place the land under Government control to discharge that liability within a fixed period, are not carried out by this popular Government. For this purpose a loan of five crores was proposed to be raised. The object was to scale down debt and discharge it. On the other hand, the brief experience under the Agricultural Relief Act has been thoroughly disappointing. The relationships between the debtor and the creditor and the tenant and the landlord were unduly strained by it. Litigation increased. Rural credit has been unnecessarily disturbed. This relation had always been equitably adjusted in many cases before the Act. It is notorious that the ryot has to seek the help of the village creditor or shopkeeper many months in the year to lend him paddy, ragi or cholan, and food grains. This small credit is discounted. One of the effective remedies suggested for the present is to make a permanent settlement in Ryotwari areas and provide means to relieve the cultivator from debt burden while every effort should be made to improve his sound economic position. The periodical re-settlements of districts are almost completed in this Province, and this facilitates revision and permanent settlement of

land tax. The incidence of land revenue in each area must be ascertained beforehand and then a basic flat rate determined because all lands cannot be treated under the same or one principle.

8. The important fact is that Pattadars in large Ryotwari areas are not cultivators. Non-agricultural classes acquired large extents of lands in the villages. The peasant cultivator who toils on the land is one and the fruits of his labour on the land are appropriated by another. Capitalists and money-lenders invested their capital in the land as they invest the same in a bank or industrial concern. Whether or not the peasant cultivator should have a fixity of tenure and fixity of rent in Ryotwari Patta lands and in Mirasi lands is one of the important problems of agricultural relief. The "Intermediaries" seem to be responsible for the state of matters, as they are mostly absentee landlords and do not belong to the agricultural classes. These middlemen profiteers ought to be drastically dealt with.

It is argued that Zamindars were Rent Collectors and are "Intermediaries" and, therefore, they are not "Owners" or proprietors of the Estates. The *peiskush* was fixed on the ascertained income of the villages; therefore, they are entitled to no more than what was calculated before 1802. Under the rough survey for purposes of revenue, the prices then prevailing for paddy rents should be considered. In very few villages there were actual money rents. Paddy and share of produce was the rule which was converted according to prices prevailing at the time. The purchasing power of the Rupee was low. Produce was cheap in comparison. This was how the Government *jamma* or demand was arrived at and had no relation to the payment by individual cultivators. I noted already that the functions of the Zamindar were not merely rent collection because in the unsettled state of the country Sircar revenue was always at stake; the Chief of the Estate, as the feudal lord subordinate to the Sovereign Power, was declared under the Regulation to be the proprietor. The Regulation, while recognising the Zamindar as permanent owner, does not grant permanent or settled rents payable by the cultivating ryot. Many Regulations were passed after that, but no mention was made of the ryots and rent, as this was to be regulated between the Zamindar and the ryot. In 1869, when the Rent Recovery Act was passed by Government, if there were any basis for the present contention, the question would have been considered. The Madras Estates Land Act of 1908 had able and independent advocates of ryots in the Legislature. The whole aim

was to better the condition of the cultivating tenant ; if the question of rates of rent were fixed for ever in 1802, there was no need to pass that Act. Extraordinary intelligence has dawned upon some politicians of the Congress school to raise this plea as a political shibboleth but one who examined and worked the Estates Land Act as an advocate in law courts both for ryots and for Zamindars cannot but be of opinion that it is a fair and equitable adjustment of the relations between the landlord and the tenant, though it is open to certain amendments in regard to procedure.

It may be relevant to state that the ryot or kisan agitation in other Provinces all tend to create reliefs similar to the relationship established in Madras since 1908 under the Estates Land Act. One very important fact which is ignored by the political agitators is that in 1930 the Estates Land Act was amended in order to enable the ryot to apply to scale down the rent due for any *fasli* in accordance with the rates of prices of produce prevailing in previous years or in the neighbourhood. This scaling down will considerably relieve the tenant in the Zamindari area. It is also settled law that both in Inam and Zamindari villages, the cultivating ryot has rights of permanent occupancy which the Kisans in other Provinces are struggling to achieve. The Estates Land Act defined the rights and obligations *inter se* between ryot and Zamindar. The definition of landholder puts the case beyond all reasonable doubt. There are general provisions relating to rates of rent payable by ryots, for enhancement, reduction or alteration of rent, commutation of *raram* rent into money rents, repairs to irrigation sources. When rent is payable on the estimated value of crop, either party may apply for its commutation into money rent and in case of survey and settlement rates could be fixed. All the customary payments were dispensed with. Commutation and settlement of rents were pressed by Zamindari ryots when prices were high and they could easier pay money rent and sell the share of paddy for high prices. Prosperity prevailed. With the fall of prices since 1931, the agitation recommenced and reckless political agitators who have no stake in the country fomented the discontent and the grievances, real and imaginary, were loudly proclaimed for their own ends. Party politics were introduced into the matter and promises were made, thereby creating bitter relations where free and friendly relations prevailed before. Unrest took the place of peace and goodwill in the Zamindaris. Some landholders were not sensible to what

was going on in their midst and did not keep themselves in touch with the people. Want of personal contact with the ryots was one of the causes of unrest. There were absentee Zamindars. There are real grievances in some Zamindaris but not in all Estates. The Estates Land Act makes adequate provision in favour of the ryots. There may be special cases for enquiry and investigation. Rents may be readjusted in such cases as found to be necessary, especially in areas where rents were commuted or settlements made between the years 1914 and 1930. Left to themselves without the intervention of irresponsible political agitators, the relations between the landlord and the tenant would be more easily adjusted where it is necessary. Any revolutionary change is bound to react on the Government and destroy the purpose for which any legislation may now be introduced, because no Party Government will be secure on untruth and coercion.

PHILOSOPHY IN JOHN KEATS

M. TAHIR JANIL, M.A.

III

THE stage of actual physical sensibility in which Keats loved to ruminate over the pleasures of external loveliness was fast yielding place to a process of deeper insight. Surrounded by thoughts of love and beauty he had lived too long in a passively receptive temperament, like Lycius in the 'purple-lined palace' of mere sense-perception, and had almost forsworn the noisy world beyond. But he had now heard its trumpet-blast, and was turning his attention in that direction. His mind was filled with the thought of sorrow and cares which crowd the life of man. He was faced with dark realities, and was beginning "to distinguish the openings of the dark passages beyond and around." This fact disquieted him intensely and brought him moments of deepest gloom, which stirred his mind to make a sustained effort to understand the enigma of human life and the world. The problem had suggested itself before, but in the sonnet on "*Ben Nevis*" he had given it up as a hopeless task. Man can know nothing about heaven, hell, or earth, he bitterly complains, and all that the

" eye doth meet
Is mist and crag, not only on this height,
But in the world of thought and mental might."

The utterance is 'joyless and uninspiring' but it is not the 'creed' of Keats, as Hudson implies. It is a passing mood which comes to every thinking soul in moments of deep despondency when it sees around it nothing but gloom.

Keats made another attempt in this direction in his sonnet "*To Ailsa Rock*." This time he asked Nature to reveal to him the source of her majesty and mystery, power and eternity, but to no purpose. The *Odes* reflect still more completely the struggle that was going on in the mind of the poet. There were periods of indolence, when, overcome by "the spell of an agreeable physical languor,"

which Mrs. Owen calls "the failure of vitality,"¹ he dismissed the figures of Love, Ambition, and Poesy as phantoms, while at other moments of melancholy he took a highly pessimistic view of Beauty and Joy:

"Beauty that must die;
And Joy, whose hand is ever at his lips
Bidding adieu."²

His study of human affairs had convinced him that the world was full of "the weariness, the fever, and the fret," where everything was undergoing a never-ceasing change:

"Where youth grows pale, and spectre-thin, and dies;
Where but to think is to be full of sorrow
And leaden eyed despairs;
Where beauty cannot keep her lustrous eyes,
Or new Love pine at them beyond to-morrow"³

and where

" . . . in the very temple of Delight
Veil'd Melancholy had her sovran shrine."⁴

All these reflections made the poet feel dispirited. Opposed to the conditions of human life there was operative in Nature a principle of eternal and immutable Beauty. It existed uniformly fresh and happy from the dim past: a type of that Beauty was the immortal song of the nightingale. In spite of the logical fallacy which critics point out here in the poet's argument, the meaning is quite clear. Keats wanted to emphasise in the poem the mad rivalry that exists amongst men of whom one hungry generation treads the other down and enacts its own puppet-show of the moment. The happiness of the bird, expressive of the idea of peace and beauty in Nature, continues in a uniform way. Apparently, the poet is thinking of the discord, struggles, and despair of the age in which he lived, and contrasts the chaos of men's actual life with the content and peace prevailing eternally in Nature. The same idea is emphasised in the "*Ode to Autumn*." By

¹ F. M. Owen: "John Keats: A Study," p. 167.

² "Ode on Melancholy."

³ "Ode to a Nightingale."

⁴ "Ode on Melancholy."

means of " a series of living tableaux " ¹ and the suggestion of the eternal music of Nature, the poet's thought seems to be drinking deep at the very fountain-head of harmony, peace, and happiness, unbroken and unabating, which it finds not within the physical and sensuous limits of enjoyment, but in the contemplation of the omnipotent, and ever-present principle of Life and Beauty. This escape into the bright illusory world would have suited a Shelley or a Schopenhauer, but Keats, a matter-of-fact poet, cannot be cheated by such illusions. " Scenery is fine, but human nature is finer," he had written from Devonshire, and so he dismisses here the idle fancy in order to face the hard facts of life.

If Nature made him disconsolate by her contrast with the condition of human life, and philosophy failed to explain the riddle of apparent incongruities, the growing awareness of the realm of Spirit within him was beginning to lighten the burden of the mystery. He had come to realise that man was invested with a power that made him superior to Nature and supreme over the cold hands of Death and Decay. It was the power of the human mind, the divine Intellect in man. " What nature does in the eternal resurrection of her loveliness man can achieve by the creative energy of art." ² He need not, therefore, despair if he cannot escape the ills of life. Keats, like Shelley, has a message of hope for humanity which is equally ennobling and inspiring. Nature cannot offer the balm because her powers are restricted. She can stimulate but cannot create. She is a " hand-maiden not mistress." It is the human mind that rules, and " will is the sovereign." It can call the past pleasures back from the region of sub-consciousness and enjoy them in imagination, in spite of the absence of the external stimuli. It is also capable of higher things than mere indulgence in the enjoyments of stored sense-perception. From the data supplied by Nature, it can construct for itself an idea of truth beyond the sphere of sensuous knowledge, beyond the reach of " satiety, disenchantment, and death," till it perceives harmony existing in apparent discord, the principle of Beauty pervading everywhere. The human mind can thus transform the physical world into " the medium through which man visualises a heavenly logic " ³

¹ A. C. Downer : " The Odes of Keats," p. 65.

² E. De Selincourt : " Keats," a lecture (Oxford Lecture, p. 200).

³ H. I. Fausset : " John Keats," p. 82.

and comes to read the mystery of the universe. Hence the poet exclaims:

" Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard
Are sweeter; therefore, ye soft pipes, play on;
Not to the sensual ear, but, more endear'd,
Pipe to the spirit ditties of no tone: " ¹

The ideal music, exalted above the region of sense-perception, is the music of " no tone," and appeals " not to the sensual ear," but to the spirit, making us hear the music, as if it were from the transcendental region beyond, keeping alive in us forever the anticipating joy of music unheard but sweet. It kindles " the imagination into a flame of intuitive perceptive activity " ² which reveals the true, eternal Beauty, transcending its sensuous presentation, and discovering intuitively " the spiritual laws of life." Works of art, thus, make an intense emotional appeal to his imagination, conjure up the vision of the entire cycle of human history, with the rise and fall of nations, empires, and civilisations, and make him stand on the brink of eternity with all its sense of infinitude and mystery. The urn becomes a transparent glass of eternity that represents the efforts of man to raise himself above the limitations of life. It leads us from the real to the ideal, from the present Beauty to the Eternal Truth, to the discovery of the secret of existence that lies in the attainment of perfection suggested by its rest and repose. The idea is summed up by Keats in his well-known lines, when in a moment of inspiration he wrote:

" Beauty is truth, truth beauty,"—that is all
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know." ³

Mr. Royall Snow's interpretation of the passage as " an out-and-out and passionate declaration for the senses " ⁴ is misleading, as it is based on the erroneous assumption that the poet emphasises here " the poignant transiency of human beauty and passion." ⁵ Admittedly there is an undertone of sadness, yet we are in full agreement with Hancock who regards the lines as the crystallised expression of the

¹ " Ode on a Grecian Urn."

C. D. Thorpe: " The Mind of Keats," p. 133.

² " Ode on a Grecian Urn."

R. Snow: " Hersey concerning Keats;" P. M. L. A., Vol. XLIV, 1929.

³ *Ibid.*

poet's "philosophy of idealism."¹ Here the poet contemplates over the spiritual value of Beauty that endures and that has been "caught and crystallised for ever in the eternity of art."² By means of a just enthusiasm for all things beautiful and perfect, and through a proper discipline of the affections, the present and the sensuous yield to the eternal and the spiritual, serving as a ladder from earth to heaven. The poet accepts the imprisonment of the external present, but instead of remaining on the surface, he tries to understand its real meaning, whereby he is at once transported into an enlarged and enfranchised world. It is a wide world which includes the ugly and the tragic as well as the lovely and the pleasant. Speaking of the true poetical character he says: "It enjoys light and shade; it leaves in gusto, be it foul or fair, high or low, rich or poor, mean or elevated. . . What shocks the virtuous philosopher delights the chameleon poet. It does no harm from its relish of the dark side of things any more than from its taste for the bright one, because they both end in speculation." Even in the repulsive he will discover some aspect of "universal life-truth," which, if imaginatively contemplated upon, would yield a rich harvest of thought, a fruitful vision of life. He loses himself in the universal, and the past, the present, and the future are merged in the ocean of eternity. Behind the diversities of time and space, always changing and passing, he traces eternal Beauty, not peculiar to any living object, natural scenery, or work of art, but as "something universal, serious, perceived with the whole mind and made by all its activities."³ To Keats, it is this eternal, spiritual reality with which the soul of man is chiefly concerned, the discovery of that "beauty old as new."⁴ Physical objects may be its expressions and individuals may be its agents, but what the poet's vision perceives behind them is the "universal" or the Platonic "Idea" of Beauty which is the only reality. He exalts it far above its objective manifestation, but does not regard it as apart from the reality of man's life and the purpose of his existence. He wants it to be experienced in its eternal aspect so that its "benignant light" may add to the everlasting edification of mankind. It will cast a bridge across the deep chasm that separates

¹ A. E. Hancock: "John Keats," p. 156.

² M. E. Shipman: "Orthodoxy concerning Keats"—P. M. L. A., Vol. XLV, 1929.

³ A. Clutton-Brock: "The Scholar's Religion."

⁴ *Ibid.*

man from reality, and will soothe and mitigate the contrasted conditions of life. In that spiritual heritage, every human soul should strive to enter, for it is the only truth known and knowable on earth.

Ruskin suggested that in the opening line of "*Endymion*" Keats ought to have called Beauty a "law" and not "joy," but such a statement, considered in the light of the mental and spiritual development of the poet, would have not only been premature, but an affectation. He had not then reached the stage when Beauty could assume perfect supremacy and become a "law." At that time he had outgrown the first stage when Beauty was a luxury that gave enjoyment to the senses, and had entered the second stage which transformed it into an intellectual principle. It was now presented to the mind in a state of repose either through the plastic art, or through the peaceful scenes of nature, out of which it formed its own conception of the Ideal, the eternal Truth. But Keats was to go further in his cult of Beauty-worship. He made it a dynamic power, an eternal law of progress in the universe, and declared in "*Hyperion*"

" 'tis the eternal law
That first in beauty should be first in might."

It was according to this law of evolution that Chaos and Darkness were superseded by Heaven and Earth, and the latter by the Titans who were

" In form and shape compact and beautiful,
In will, in action free, companionship,
And thousand other signs of purer life."

The process, however, is unceasing. As a "fresh perfection" treading on their heels has excelled them, so "another race may drive" the conquerors in their turn to mourn their doom.

What Keats exactly means by Beauty when he makes it not only eternal but supreme over all the forces of Nature, is certainly not physical or external beauty, but the Beauty of the intellect that has the power to attach proper value to things, and view them in relation to their universal condition. "Nothing but the good of life enters into the texture of the beautiful,"¹ and that good aims at reducing the

¹ George Santayana: "Sense of Beauty."

sufferings of life, and establishing a harmony between man and nature, and peace in his soul. Physical loveliness and strength have an importance of their own, but their sway cannot be lasting until they are associated with the power of the mind. That has been the undeniable principle recognised by the law of evolution. Man stands supreme over the powerful forces of Nature through the sublime power of his mind that draws its strength from its divine source. The more he attains to perfection, with the help of higher knowledge, the more divine does his nature become, till there is a beauty born in his soul, which, reflecting itself on everything around it, discovers beauty in all of them :

“ Symbols divine ;
 Manifestations of that beauteous life
 Diffused unseen throughout eternal space.”¹

Such a height cannot, however, be reached if the mind is heir to “ the frailty of grief,”

“ Of rage, of fear, anxiety, revenge,
 Remorse, spleen, hope, but most of all despair.”²

As long as the Titans continued in their divine demeanour, “ solemn, undisturbed, unruffled, like high Gods,” they lived and ruled, but the moment “ actions of rage and passion ” began to sway them, as they do

“ the mortal world beneath,
 In men who die,”³

their defeat was certain. The mind has got to go through these experiences of misery and suffering, but should not yield itself to their control. They are there to help it to get an insight into the real life, and extend its sphere of sympathy and love. They will edify the thoughts, give the mind a grasp over the secret workings of the universe, and impart a touch of Beauty even to sadness. When it is thus purified and ennobled, in a moment of revelation, the “ glorious god-like

¹ “ *Hyperion*,” Book I, ll. 317-19.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, ll. 885-6.

knowledge " will flood into the soul, like the mighty billows, and make a god of man :

" Names, deeds, grey legends, dire events, rebellions,
Majestics, sovran voices, agonies,
Creations and destroyings, all at once
Pour into the wide hollows of my brain,
And deify me, as if some blithe wine
Or bright elixir peerless I had drunk,
And so become immortal." ¹

This was not the development of a new element in Keats, as some critics suggest, but was a re-iteration of that human element and realism which we have already seen in "*Endymion*." Formerly it expressed the feeling of those moments when the poet agreed to come down from the dream world of idealistic enjoyments to the matter-of-fact world, but now it came to him as a settled conviction out of the clash of love and death. It deepened the human element in him, and made him realise that side of Beauty which owes its origin to sorrow and to pain. The feelings for humanity has grown so intense in the poet that he seeks

" no wonder but the human face,
No music but a happy-noted voice." ²

His heart is unified with humanity as a whole, and while it feels sick of the dark shadows that hover above this world, and the perpetual tragedies enacted in it, he is too much of a realist to indulge in the luxury of an imagined Utopia as a sort of escape from the hard realities of life. Pleasure in isolation is too selfish, and Keats could never desire to enjoy this now. If an escape were possible, he would not have it alone, but would take the world with him to share its peace. " The miseries of the world are miseries to him, and will not let him rest till he has found an explanation of the mystery, a proper place for the ills and ailments of life in the vast and complicated plan of the universe. He does not try to shun the bare facts and indulge in the " embroidery of dim dream," but faces them squarely, and concentrates his imaginative genius upon an effort to understand reality. This he has done in his letter to his brother George, which he wrote in the

¹ "*Hyperion*," Book III, ll. 114-20.

² "*Fall of Hyperion*."

spring of 1819, and where he has given us the most comprehensive philosophy of life that he has formulated after he had seen

“ too distinct into the core
Of an eternal fierce destruction.”¹

It caused him unhappiness for the moment, but led to a co-ordinated and sublime outlook upon life and the world. In the letter, the poet first states the fact that “ man is originally a poor forked creature subject to the same mis-chances as the beasts of the forest, destined to hardship and disquietude of some kind or other.” Perfect happiness he believes to be incompatible with the very nature of things, and should never be dreamt of. “ Let the fish Philosophise the ice away,” he contends, “ from the Rivers in winter time, and they shall be in continual play in the tepid delight of summer. Look at the Poles and the Sands of Africa, whirlpools and volcanoes. Let men exterminate them and I will say that they may arrive at earthly Happiness.” It is, therefore, idle for man to look for perfect joy in a world of misery and pain. The argument is the direct and most forceful refutation of the Godwinian doctrine of perfectibility. Keats is too clear-sighted to accept such a delusive hope. On the other hand, he avoids the stoicism of Byron and the pessimism of Schopenhauer. He does not look upon the world as inevitably bad and entirely corrupt. He tells us not to be disheartened, if the thorns of life make us bleed, nor seek an escape “ into a subjective region of æsthetic beauty,” because neither of these courses can in any way be conducive to our happiness. The first reveals a sickly sensitive mind, while the other will add to the existing misery all the more, for one cannot perpetually live in his self-created visionary world. Keats had a vein of “ flint and iron,” as a critic has justly remarked, that was strong enough to “ bear the buffets of the world.”² He strikes the real note of manliness when he refuses to “ lie down like a child and weep away the life of cares.” Undismayed, he sets himself to a new understanding of the age-long problem.

So long the world had been regarded by the scholastics as a “ vale of tears,” a place subject to the devil, a place to be shunned in order to receive the divine grace. Keats gives it a new name by looking at

it from another angle of vision. His piercing insight was ever alive to the sense of beauty and goodness in everything. He had found beauty in the energies displayed in a street-fight, and grace in quarrels, and had arrived at a reconciliation with the "horrid incongruities" in the life of Nature. Consequently, he could not think of the ills and evils of life as fortuitous events without any purpose. In the "*Ode to Melancholy*" he had discovered the necessary link between pleasure and pain, between joy and sorrow, one a complementary experience increasing the emotional value of the other. In the letter he discovered their use, by regarding this world as a "Vale of Soul-making" where "intelligences or sparks of divinity" grow into Souls by acquiring identities through the medium of a world of circumstances. The "World of Pains and Troubles" is like the school where the intelligence must be developed into a Soul, with the help of the human heart, which "must feel and suffer in a thousand diverse ways" before it can "suck its identity," and gain its place in the scheme of things. The friction he believes to be real, but incidental, which can be definitely diminished "as the world is better known and the will is better educated."¹ It is a grand reconciliation that Keats has effected here, satisfying both to reason and humanity. He reminds us of the tremendous importance of the human mind, a spark of the Divinity, sent out into this world of pain, sufferings, and sorrows, as a necessary condition to fit it for its ultimate destination. It can be through the discipline of this world of misery alone that the soul can gain its power of flight to reach out to the Great Soul. Here, as Bradley remarks, Keats is at one with the main current of the philosophic thought of his day which displayed "an unusually strong sense of the power and possibilities of man or of the mind."² But Keats does not go to the extreme like Fichte, who considered the mind as having the power to create and control the universe. Such a position is the result of the acceptance of an extreme form of subjective-idealism. It dismisses the world, for all practical purposes, as an illusion. Keats denied it in the letter, and accepted the "hardships and disquietudes" of existence as indisputable facts that are neither created nor controlled by the mind. The only way open

¹ G. Santanaya : "Three Philosophical Poets," p. 203.

² A. C. Bradley : "A Miscellany," p. 116.

to man is to accept them as " necessary to the formation and development " of his soul, and to rise above them :

" . . . for to bear all naked truths,
And to envisage circumstance, all calm,
That is the top of sovereignty." ¹

This view takes us out of the illusory character of the creeds of the time which had made it fashionable to regard all reality as related simply to man's idea about them. It impresses upon us the fact of the cosmic will as being stronger than our own. Our intellect makes us conscious of its existence, and the experiences of our life constantly bring home to us our relation to the Supreme Will and our dependence upon it. This is idealism, not as crude subjectivism, but as the transcendental philosophy of the will that keeps its serious hold upon the reality, affirming at the same time the noumenal will in which lies the highest phase of existence.

This is the synthesis of all the wisdom and philosophy that Keats had gathered so far, which, according to some critics, wrought his own undoing as a poet. Mr. Elliot asserts that the more Keats strained his mind towards philosophy, the more he cut himself away from the sources of poetic inspiration, which was already failing him before his fatal sickness finally dried them up. He finds in Keats an incapacity to reach the height of philosophy, which was unapproachable for his genius, but towards which his wistful gaze was ever fixed, like a sick eagle gazing at the high heaven, and when he realised that he was unsuited for the task, he ardently longed for the peace of death.² The other opinion is that of Mr. Roberts, who also accepts the view that Keats aspired after philosophy, against his natural predilection for the world of sensation, and eventually found himself lost in the quagmire of speculation, so patent in his unfinished "*Hyperion*" poems.³ While agreeing with both that Keats *did* aspire after philosophy, we cannot accept their gloomy conclusions. As we have tried to show in the preceeding pages, Keats succeeded not only in overcoming the sensationalism of his early days—for, in the words of Prof. Elton, " he was not a poet who rested in sensation " ⁴

¹ "*Hyperion*," Book II.

² G. R. Elliot : " The Real Tragedy of Keats "—an article in P.M.L.A., p. 815 ff.

³ J. H. Roberts : " Poetry of Sensation or of Thought "—P.M.L.A., p. 1129 ff.

⁴ Oliver Elton : " A Survey of English Literature " (1780-1830), II.

—but formulated a definite system of philosophy, as noble as he had hoped it to be. His philosophy aimed at due proportion and adjustment in a world highly disorganised on account of its too great emphasis on the one side of existence only, and reminded us of that peace and happiness that a perfect order of things could yield. He meets the demands of the conditions of his age for a practical view of life, but gives us, at the same time, a vision of complete and satisfying peace in serene Beauty. There are suggestions and glimpses of ideal harmony, but the most characteristic thing in him is that he frequently chooses “to descend again to common sense and to touch the earth for a moment before another flight.”¹ He was a prophet among the poets like his great contemporaries, but a more humanist prophet than the rest, because he brought his philosophic mind and spiritual insight to an understanding of the world of reality. Others, in moments of inspiration, used to be swept away by the wave of emotional pantheism, and indulged in too much of subjective thinking, but Keats, in the manner of a true transcendentalist, concerned himself less with the mystic union than with the nature and capacity of man himself. He took a comprehensive view of the claims of both worlds, and succeeded in effecting a union of the two. This is what gives force and authenticity to his utterances. His mind soars beyond the utmost limit of the horizon, far into the vast, misty empyrean, yet is fully conversant with the “giant agony of the world.” He refuses to sit down and weep over the cruelty of fate and the “base-ness of mankind,” like “a tedious mourner and a boring pessimist,”² but presents to us the possibility of a perfect scheme of things in its continuity and completeness. He reminds us of the process of evolution which is as much in operation in the intellect of man as in the mechanical and physical world. Man is always developing latent faculties, but while his attention is commonly limited to his increased power over the material world, Keats has his eyes fixed upon the eternal, and desires in the race an aptness and capability in that direction as well. The power of perceiving and appreciating Beauty is man’s heritage by birth, but it is a latent capacity awaiting development like other potential faculties. The task of civilisation consists in helping us to attain to a higher type of life by making Beauty a real part of it, and by fostering in us, through the contemplation of the

¹ George Santayana : “Poetry and Religion.”

Beautiful, that consciousness of spiritual freedom in which pettiness, strife, and misery pass away and we grasp the world as a unity. It was the mission of Keats to lay stress upon the importance of æsthetic culture from this point of view. He allays the discord in our minds by awakening our æsthetic sense, so that we may find the harmonies of existence in the coherence of its parts, and rise above its apparent imperfections and our selfish interests, to a frame of mind in which we may see things perfect and see them whole. He has shown us how we can rise to complete perfection through Beauty, which is its clearest manifestation, and which offers a firm basis for the reconstruction of Society and, Art, so that they may come to resemble more closely that kind of Reality to which we aspire.

A PEDAGOGIC EFFUSION *

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THE inspection of a college does not mean now-a-days for the associate Inspector merely a pleasant trip at University expense. He is expected by the authorities, who select him, to make a formal speech before the students on some topic of academic interest. When, therefore, the call came to me to visit your college with one of my distinguished old pupils, the present Inspector of Colleges, I was in a quandary on realising the additional responsibility. My chief difficulty was to find a suitable subject which might appeal to you all, from the youngest cub of the First Year—I mean no offence, I use the word as Boy Scouts use it—to the finished gentleman of the Fourth Year Class. I have my favourite topics to be sure. I should have liked, for instance, to speak on some chapter of ancient or mediæval history, European or Indian—the modern is too near to stir my imagination. But thanks to the plan hitherto pursued by our University, History can be and too often is put by the majority of students on the list of neglected subjects. I should have also liked to talk on one of my heroes, literary or historical—everybody has his hero, good or bad; even the child has his engine-driver, the embodiment to him of tremendous power. But I could not fix upon any of my favourites who might interest all of you equally. As a Professor of literature, I might be expected perhaps to spin a fine cobweb of literary criticism with the warp and woof of -ism and -ity, and to discuss before a gaping audience whether a particular poem was classical or romantic in spirit. Unfortunately, I have no turn for metaphysical niceties, and such discussions send a shudder through me. Moreover, in term-time I hardly find leisure to collect my thoughts on a subject, which does not come within the orbit of my strictly professional studies. Robert Southey was once explaining to a Quaker lady how his time was entirely filled with work: reading Portuguese while he shaved, studying Spanish for an hour after breakfast, and then reading and writing till dinner. “And friend, when dost thee think?” came

* An address delivered at Victoria College, Cooch-Behar, on the 31st January, 1939.

sharply from his fair visitor in her peculiar Quaker dialect. This question have I often put to myself, and the reply from my inner self has almost always been: "Seldom or never." After a good deal of fumbling for a suitable subject, I at last thought of one on which I felt I was privileged, as an old man, to talk and talk glibly, with an air of assumed authority, though not without some trepidation. I thought of giving you some fatherly or grandfatherly advice, which I fancied might be of use to you. The trepidation I just spoke of arose from a sense of my own shortcomings, specially as I thought that there might be among my listeners some readers of *The Merchant of Venice* who, tickled by my earnest exhortations, might be tempted to quote at me Portia's withering remark hurled at her handmaid: "Good sentences and well pronounced! It is a good divine that follows his own instructions." It was, however, open to me to plead that the very defect in my title gave me a sort of faint courage to pursue my suit. My mistakes and failures might warn you to keep to the right path. A teetotaler is not necessarily a more effective speaker at a Temperance Society meeting than a drunkard on reflection. The author of *The Imitation of Christ* says very wisely: "Search not who spoke this or that, but mark what is spoken."

What I should like to impress upon you at the outset is the need for cultivating a true sense of discipline. Discipline is what makes a 'disciple,' a learner, a seeker after knowledge. It is his essential virtue. The etymology of the word points to it. Order, self-control, reverence for law—all that is connoted by the English word 'discipline'—is essentially connected with learning, teaching, knowledge, which are the senses in which the Romans used their word, 'disciplina.' We talk of loyalty—loyalty to our king, loyalty to our friends, loyalty to our teachers, loyalty to our family. What is this loyalty but law-abidingness, which is another name for discipline? The Greek historian Herodotus tells us that when Xerxes, the Great Monarch, as the Greeks called him, invaded Greece, he could not bring himself to believe that a small number of Spartans could even think of opposing his mighty host, specially as they were, according to the report brought to him, free men with no master to lead and control them. To this scepticism of the Persian monarch, a Spartan exile in his camp, named Demaratus, replied: "Though they are free, they are not in all respects free. Law in their master, whom they fear more than thy subjects fear thee. What he commands they do." This

law-loving, law-abiding spirit is the first condition of fruitful college life. It makes life itself worth living. I do not like to be censorious, but now-a-days I see a sad breaking-in of waters on all sides, bringing desolation and ruin upon us; and unless strenuous efforts are made to dam up these waters, our national life will be submerged for ever. The foundation of disciplined life must be laid early. When I speak of discipline, I do not mean any measure that may be adopted by men in authority to keep someone in check, much less that cold, loveless, though at times effective, method, which has kept alive to this day the dreadful memory of that formidable French drill-master of the time of Louis XIV. I mean by discipline that wholesome restraint which one can learn to keep over oneself, and through oneself over others. This true discipline manifests itself in self-control, in mutual co-operation and sympathy, in considerate regard for one another's rights and feelings. Remember you are all members of a college, of a *collegium*, where you are "collected" or "chosen" to form a society for the pursuit of a common end, a society in which, as my old master, Mr. H. M. Percival, said, "mind should be bound with mind in sympathy and love, which alone can put a soul into college corporate life."

I would next urge upon you to cultivate a spirit of seriousness and enthusiasm in all your undertakings. What strikes me most painfully is the intellectual and moral apathy noticeable in many a young man today. I say 'moral,' because this apathy affects character in its larger aspects. Enthusiasm makes work bear fruit, and gives life its value. The Greeks understood the matter well when they coined this word (*enthousiasmos*). Enthusiasm is the state of being possessed by a *theos*, a god, with an exalting or ecstatic effect. It is better to be possessed even by a devil than not to be possessed at all. On a dark plain on the confines of Hell, Dante saw the miserable plight of those who had lived on earth 'without blame and without praise,' mixed up in that dismal region with a wretched crew of those angels who had neither rebelled against nor remained faithful to God—unfortunates, who, in the scornful phrase of the poet, 'never were alive.' Beware of such a fate. The curse pronounced upon the Church of Laodicea is upon such men: "I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth." This lack of enthusiasm betrays an anæmic condition of the soul, a fatal disease. But with no disease is the principle

of "will cure" so effective as with this. Your intellectual doctors may help you with occasional prescriptions, but remember that the will in the patient to live is, as has been well said, the doctor's best ally. "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might," says the Preacher in the Old Testament. You will do well to ponder over an incident in Homer's *Odyssey*. In the eleventh book of the epic, the hero, Odysseus, arrives at the entrance to Hades (the land of the dead) and beseeches the departed spirits with vows and prayers. He sacrifices some sheep, pours their blood into a trench he had cut, 'a cubit every way,' and 'lo! the spirits of the dead that were departed, gathered round him.' You too are engaged in similar propitiatory rites; you too, like Odysseus, have to invoke the mighty spirits of the dead, if you realise the true nature of your work. But the dead will not come to your call unless you pour out your heart's blood and offer it to them.

But this attitude towards work cannot come unless you have learnt to enjoy it. "There is nothing better," says the Preacher in the Old Testament, who in his two hundred verses has put some of the wisest things ever said, "than that a man rejoice in his works, for that is his portion." Seek delight, *ānandam*, in your work as students, for that is your portion here. Then and then only will your labour bring forth fruit. Too often we do our work under compulsion, as a joyless task imposed upon us by a hard taskmaster, from fear of being punished if we neglect to carry it through, sometimes even from a desire to do the fashionable thing rather than from an impelling sense of inner enjoyment. Too often are we moved by a mechanical rather than a dynamical impulse, as Carlyle would put it. Work done this way may not altogether go in vain, but there will be no joyous harvest to gather. The inner compulsion is what gives work its abiding value. Cicero records of Xenocrates, a disciple of Plato and one of his successors as President of the Academy, that when someone asked him what his disciples had learnt, he replied: "To do that of their own accord which they might be compelled to do by law." Happy indeed is the teacher who can say this of his students!

I shall now speak of a condition essential to success in any undertaking. Get early into the habit of regularising your work. Exercise strong control over the roving tendencies of the mind. Beware of the curse of Reuben: "Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel." Do

a thing by bits, but do it systematically, steadily, something every day rigorously set apart for it. Spasmodic activities leave one weaker by reaction. "Half an hour set apart every day," says John Morley, "may enable one to finish in four days, say, twelve books of the *Iliad*, or the entire *Æneid*." Judged by our standard, he might be thought to have filled the half-hour too full. But something surely could be done in a half-hour, and if systematically pursued, would amount to a solid achievement at the end of 365 days. The celebrated painter, Apelles, never let a day go by without drawing something. "Nulla dies sine linea" (Not a day without a line) was his motto.

If there is anything for you to do, set to work at once. In the words of the greatest poet-philosopher of Germany, "Do the duty that lies nearest you." The paper-weight kept by Ruskin on his table bore the plain and emphatic motto: TODAY. Correct the ruinous habit of procrastination, the habit of putting off your duties till tomorrow (the word means this literally). "The flighty purpose never is o'ertook Unless the deed go with it." Do not look in the calendar for auspicious days. As Hector says in the *Iliad*, "the gods send favourable omens every day," and the best of omens is our soul's good. We generally hope to begin a better life on some ever-receding future date. "Every first of January" is to be, as Stevenson puts it, "a remarkable turning point in our career." In that entertaining book, Pepys's Diary, we read under the date 27th February, 1661: "I called for a dish of fish, which we had for dinner, this being the first day of Lent: and I do intend to try whether I can keep it or no." Next day, the 28th, there is a characteristic confession: "Notwithstanding my resolution, yet for want of other victuals, I did eat flesh this Lent, but am resolved to eat as little as I can." Do we not in the same way make and break our vows and find ready excuses for our backslidings? Form your resolutions after careful self-examination, and having once formed them, resolutely try to keep them. Otherwise each tomorrow will find you worse than you were the day before.

Turning from these general observations, I should now like to speak on what concerns you more immediately as students of literature. How to get the best of your reading is an imperative question, which must be tackled. You read poetry, you read prose, you read drama (logicians will please pardon me this cross-division), you read many other things, which are neither poetry nor prose nor drama. These are

called books merely because they are printed, their names filling a thick catalogue of *biblia a-biblia*, of books that are no books. Of the better class, you read books which are of the informative kind, you read others which are of the inspiring kind. De Quincey would classify them under "literature of knowledge" and "literature of power." To borrow a famous statement of Bacon, which has been rightly criticised as being somewhat spoiled by its gastronomical imagery, there are books which are to be merely "tasted," not worth being read through. There are books, again, which are to be "swallowed," to be read through, but not worth much time and labour being spent on them. But there are books—there are not many such—which should be "chewed and digested." These are a fat pasture for the soul. Your intellectual caterers set before you this varied fare. "Welcome: fall to" is their word. Would there were competent and reliable 'sewers,' such as attended at a king's meal in the past, tasting and placing only palatable and harmless dishes on the table and rejecting suspicious and insipid items from the menu.

I have neither the time nor the capacity to give you on the spot an exhaustive or authoritative discourse on the most profitable way of reading literature. What little I have to say I shall preface with a few words of warning. And my first warning is: Keep out of your mind that ugly boggy of EXAMINATION—for a good while at any rate—when you read a masterpiece. Read it at first to enjoy it by yourselves, in seclusion, undisturbed by critics and commentators. A small glossary of unfamiliar words and only a page or two introducing the author and his work are all that may be needed at this stage. I have often thought that what usually goes before in the annotated editions of a classic, should have come right at the end and been pinned up until the text had been gone through more than once.

It matters little if you do not take in the meaning of all that you read for the first time. When, for instance, one listens to the words with which Othello enters his bedroom on that fatal night, or to his last speech begun in a tone of ominously subdued calm and suddenly rising to a pitch of alarming frenzy, or when we breathlessly watch poor Lear bending over the body of Cordelia, his mind tossing between despair and hope, or when our mind rocks on the delightful cadence of that noble specimen of prose put into the mouth of Hamlet, when we read such moving passages, should we pause to enquire into

the significance of the phrase "Promethean heat," or to ascertain the botanical character of that Arabian gum-tree or find out by historical or geographical research whether the correct reading was "base Indian" or "base Judean" or "base Egyptian"? These intellectual diversions might come, if come they must, in an idle hour much later, but not before we have lost ourselves in the poetry of the passages. First let us feel and enjoy the charm in its totality, and then the cool, critical business of scrutinising the elements of the total effect might follow at long last.

It is no doubt essential to realise fully the poetical and contextual associations of every telling word, to distil its essence to the last drop. For the right appreciation of a poem, its poetic technique has also to be grasped, the appropriateness of words (like Milton's use of 'lodged' in his sonnet on his blindness—'And that one talent which is death to hide Lodg'd with me useless'), the imagery often cameoed in a single word (as in the word 'sift' in that line in Shelley's *Cloud*: 'I sift the snow on the mountains below'), even a punctuation mark (as in Lady Macbeth's reply to her husband's timid, 'If we should fail') should demand careful attention for an æsthetic appreciation of the poet's art, which, in the fine phrase of Meredith, "springs imagination with a word or phrase." But such an appreciation is a slow process gathering force with every fresh reading of the poem. And a good poem as every other noble work of art does not reveal its secret except after long and devoted wooing. Your Mona Lisa must hang on the wall before your eyes, maybe for years, before she may condescend to unfold to you the secret of her winsome smile. Let your mind open itself gradually to the intellectual, emotional, imaginative appeal of the work of art you may have taken up for study, as a bud opens to the genial warmth of the morning sun.

I have just made a passing reference to the critics of literature. My next warning is with respect to them. Pray do not misunderstand me. I gratefully acknowledge the value of the services rendered by them. Even the worst among them may produce a good effect indirectly, by rousing one into opposition. My point is that these critics should not be called in before their time, as they too often are, and that, when called in, they should only be admitted as partners in a high debate. In the first stage of your reading a classic, keep your books of criticism on a very high shelf out of your reach, and do not take them down until you have read the original for yourselves

sufficiently well to be able to form an opinion of your own. Quite frequently am I asked within a week of my first meeting a Shakespeare class, "Sir, what books of criticism shall we read on this play?" And the only answer I give to this question is a silent look, which is enough to silence the enquirer. What Emerson says about books, generally is specially applicable to critical works. They are "the best of things, well used; abused, among the worst." In one of his prose fragments, entitled "The Interpretation of Nature," Bacon speaks of "those profound interpreters and commentators, those methodical compounders and abridgers, who spend their wits to deprave the wit of the original master and aspire to the second prizes and think that a borrowed light can increase the original light from where it is taken." When you have to deal with such stuff, you cannot do better than follow the example of Gibbon, who says: "After glancing my eye over the design and order of a new book, I suspended the perusal until I had finished the task of self-examination; till I had resolved, in a solitary walk, all that I knew or believed, or had thought on the subject of the whole work, or of some particular chapter: I was then qualified to discover how much the author added to my original stock, and if I was sometimes satisfied by the agreement, I was sometimes armed by the opposition of our ideas." This in the language of Emerson would be "creative reading."

Carefully note Gibbon's phrase, "armed by the opposition of our ideas." Never accept a statement, be it even a bare statement of facts without challenge. You will be amazed to find how sometimes even usually careful writers go wrong in such matters too. Do not be dazzled by a great name. There is no "hero-worship" in the domain of literary criticism. As Emerson rightly says, "the love of the hero may corrupt into worship of his statue; then instantly the book becomes noxious, and the guide a tyrant." Do not imitate the example of the disciples of Pythagoras, whose "Ipse dixit" (He—the Master—himself said it), they thought, was a sufficiently convincing answer to all enquiry and criticism. To what absurd length deference to authority may go is shown by a story about the astronomer-monk, Christopher Scheiner. When he discovered some spots on the sun, through his telescope, he reported the discovery to the Superior of his Order. And what was the reply he got? "I have searched through Aristotle," wrote back the Superior, and can "find nothing of the kind mentioned; be assured, therefore, it is a deception of your senses or of

your glasses." What cruel sacrifices have not been offered in the past to the demon of Authority ! Did not Galileo have to live the life of " a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than his Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought? " To you I say with all the emphasis I can command: Get out of the habit of consulting your oracles before you have thought out the matter for yourselves, and when, on consultation later, the oracles deliver themselves, do not regard them as infallible.

When I spoke of critics, I remembered only the better sort, and kept out of all consideration the miscellaneous tribe of fantastic theorists, who, in the scornful language of Bacon, " spend their wits to deprave the wit of the original writer," and of second- or third-hand retailers of other people's wares—" keysmiths," if I might use this expressive term, whose manufactured articles too often open no locks, but break a good many that might otherwise have been opened. I might fill a volume of goodly size with the lucubration of such people with reference to Shakespeare alone. That huge pantechnicon van, popularly known as the Variorum Edition of Shakespeare, is overloaded with such lumber. The editor of *Hamlet* in that series, however, unaccountably omitted to include a remarkable discovery made in the year One thousand eight hundred and eighty-one, by a General Traffic and Freight Manager of an American Railway, that the hero of that play was not a man but a woman in disguise, in love with Horatio, and quite naturally indifferent to poor Ophelia. The discoverer was rewarded with an LL.D. by an American College. In 1904 came another startling discovery that Ophelia was the mother of a child, but not by Hamlet, a discovery important for understanding the play. The discoverer was a medical man named Creighton. Another critic, this time a German named Krieger, found in 1930 the early history of Luthernism in that play. The man Hamlet is an abstract -ism—Luthernism. You may remember that Hamlet refers to " a certain convocation of politic worms " making a " diet " of Polonius. And did not Shakespeare know that Luther had attended the Diet of Worms in 1521, some eighty years before he wrote the play ? What he did not know was the correct German way of pronouncing " Diet " and " Worms," and this ignorance helped him to the punning allusion. Human ingenuity could not go further than what this critic displayed. I disdain to make more than a passing reference to the alarmingly growing number of Freudian psycho-analysts, who

believe that they have at last discovered the secret cause of Othello's mad jealousy and of Hamlet's melancholy irresoluteness.

But such Bedlam fools only amuse you by their antics. There are others of a more pretentious kind, who irritate you by their meaningless cant. No truer words were ever uttered than those which Laurence Sterne put into the mouth of his Tristram Shandy: "Of all the cants that are canted in this canting world, though the cant of hypocrisy may be the worst, the cant of criticism is the most tormenting." Such people profess to set up sign-posts, which more often misguide than guide the literary wayfarer. Shakespeare, who was also great as a parodist, seems to have prophetically anticipated this present tendency in literary criticism, when he made Polonius give an exhaustive list of dramatic types current at the time: "Tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral, scene individable, or poem unlimited." Similarly with these critics, this writer is 'a Transcendentalist or Intuitionist in Ethics, a Pantheist in Religion, an Absolutist in Politics.' In this poem they find the flavour of Romanticism, in that there is the spirit of Classicism. Here there is a touch of Romantic-Classicism, there you have Classico-Romanticism. Such is the staple of a good deal of what passes as literary criticism now, and young students are 'so befetished with the bobs and trinkets' of such criticism (to borrow again an expressive phrase from Sterne) that they repeat this jargon like parrots and fancy they have said the last word on a poem and its poet. These -isms have not done anybody any good. 'Labels,' as John Morley well remarks, 'are devices for saving talkative persons the trouble of thinking.'

Rid your mind of all such cant. What really matters is the original work itself. 'The play is the thing.' Tune up the strings of your mind to the right key so that they may respond to the varied touches of the master's hand, which seeks to bring out

all harmonies

Of all the plains and of the skies,
Of the forests and the mountains,
Of the many-voiced fountains ;
The choicest echoes of the hills,
The softest notes of falling rills,
The melodies of birds and bees,
The murmuring of summer seas.

I sometimes wonder how ever one can think of pausing to dissect into critical slices a lovely poem, when, as the first effect of reading it, one's blood should tingle all over with quivering delight. Such a person reminds me of the callous 'fingering slave' of Wordsworth's poem, 'who would peep and botanise Upon his mother's grave.' The first effects of reading a masterpiece should be almost electroscopic in sensitiveness and too thrilling for such cold critical operations.

Goethe said: "If thou wouldst understand a poem, thou must go with the poet to the poet's land." A willing suspension of disbelief, a perfect abandon, a free play of the imagination must be there in the reader. "The voice which is the voice of my poetry Without imagination cannot be heard," says Wordsworth. It has been well said: "Art relies, for its full effect, upon what the spectator brings with him." You should be willing and imaginative enough to sit with one poet, 'in embalmed darkness,' listening to the nightingale 'singing of summer in full-throated ease,' and share his ecstasy and delight. Here is another sitting in dejection, all alone, on a sandy beach, with 'the lightning of the noontide ocean flashing' round him, watching the sea's 'untrampled floor with green and purple sea-weeds strown,' seeing 'the waves upon the shore, Like light dissolved in star-showers, thrown,' and listening to a tone arising from the 'measured motion' of the waters before him. 'How sweet,' cries he, 'did any heart now share in my emotion!' It is for you to respond eagerly to his passionate call. Let us stand in reverential silence, and watch a son place a wreath of choicest flowers on his father's grave: "There dost thou lie, in the gloom Of the autumn evening. But ah! That word, *gloom*, to my mind Brings thee back in the light Of thy radiant vigour again!" With regard to such utterances the voice of cold criticism is hushed. Well might the spirits of the dead poets say to those who are 'impervious to the irresistible appeal of good poetry: "We have piped unto you and you have not danced: we have mourned unto you and you have not wept."

I should like to draw your attention next to an important consideration. Be it prose or be it verse, a good deal of its appeal is through the ear. In verse more than half its charm depends on the witchery of its music. The infinite modulations of the human voice, answering to the varied play of emotions, in a dramatic dialogue, are

audible only to the trained ear. "Lectio" or reading was rightly given the first place in the study of literature by the Greeks and the Romans. But this art is sadly neglected by the majority of our students. Many either rattle through their recitations or affect a disgustingly sing-song, tremulous tone which must make the Muse of Poetry shudder through all her limbs. Imagine one reading with a sentimentally quivering voice: "Twinkle, twinkle, little star, How I wonder what you are!", thinking that one's voice, calling upon the star to twinkle, must itself be tremulous! Quintillian, the famous rhetorician, denounces the recitation of verses 'degenerating into sing-song or effeminate modulations,' and quotes a remark made by Gaius Caesar,* when he was a boy, apparently made to a fellow student, who was reading some verses: "If you are singing, you are singing badly; if you are reading, you are singing." I have often heard the entrancing verses of Shakespeare, Milton, Shelley, Swinburne, read much in the same way as a grocer in our country reads his Ramayan, when he rests from his day's labour. You quote approvingly Tennyson's praise of Milton as the "mighty-mouthed inventor of harmonies, God-gifted organ voice of England." But how many of you have realised for yourselves the justice of this remark? How many of you have felt the effect of the solemn opening of the first book or of the third book of *Paradise Lost*, or of the description of Chaos in the second book, or of the prayer of Adam and Eve in the fifth? If you know how to read these passages, you cannot fail to feel the music winding through the majestic lines "in linked sweetness long drawn out," which is the poet's own description of organ music in the church. Shakespeare knew the value of effective elocution. He gives us, through Hamlet's mouth, his own views as to how actors should recite their parts. I wish you heard it from one of the most celebrated of Shakespeare actors of our time, Forbes-Robertson, whose recitation of the piece has been recorded for the gramophone. I quite realise the difficulties that we, Indians, are faced with in the matter of such correct elocution. It is almost impossible to eradicate the defect arising from these difficulties. I can only offer a sugges-

* Quintillian simply has "C. Caesar," Gaius Caesar (*Inst.* I. vii. 2). It may be questioned whether he refers to Julius Caesar or to Gaius Caesar, poet and orator, both of whom had Gaius as their prænomen. Cicero frequently refers to Julius Caesar as Gaius Caesar. But judging from the context, one might venture to conclude that Quintillian had in mind the orator rather than the dictator. In two other passages preceding this (*Inst.* I. v. 68; I. vii. 34.) he refers obviously to the orator under this name.

tion as a partial corrective. And it ought not to be difficult for the authorities of any educational institution to accept it. The gramophone should be pressed into service. Good recitation records by well-known elocutionists are procurable at a small cost. How largely their use has entered into the educational scheme of every civilised country except ours, will appear from a perusal of Mr. Thomas Beach's "Modern Language Teaching and Learning with Gramophone Records and Readers." Every educational institution in our country should possess the necessary apparatus for giving its students such a delightfully instructive treat. Is it not a treat, and a rare treat, to listen, as often as you desire, to Forbes-Robertson, Ellen Terry, Beerbohm Tree, Sybil Thorndyke, John Barrymore reciting from Shakespeare, John Drinkwater and Henry Newbolt reciting their own poems, Ripman, the phonetician, reading from standard writers of prose, or Professor Evans lecturing on Twentieth Century Poetry ?

I am afraid you may be getting tired, and I shall not detain you longer than may be required to consider two more points of great importance. Practise reading with a pencil in hand, and go on making marginal summaries and comments of your own. Keep also a commonplace book in which you may transcribe striking passages, poetry or prose, from the books you read. But the best commonplace book is your own mind. Make it a storehouse of beautiful gems of thought and expression. Memory (Mnemosyne) was with the Greeks the mother of the Muses. Most great men were remarkable for their memory. Milton must have had a prodigious memory—almost every phrase in his writings done after his loss of sight bears testimony to his wide reading and retentive memory. Macaulay's feats of memory are proverbial. Once while crossing the Irish Channel, he was not allowed by the captain of his boat the use of a light to read by. He threw himself on a deck-chair and consoled himself by reciting the first two books of *Paradise Lost*, which was, as he afterwards said, as good as reading them. Ruskin knew almost the entire Bible by heart, and the grace and rhythmic beauty of his style was derived in no small measure from what has been rightly called "the noblest monument of English prose." In early systems of education memory was given a high place. The Greek boy had to know his Homer and the Roman lad his Vergil by heart. The average Persian (Irani, as he would prefer to call himself now) can quote freely

from Hafiz and Sa'adi ; and we in our country are familiar even in these degenerate days with scholars of the older type, who can recite verbatim texts and their commentaries. In the public schools in England, the day's lesson begins with the boys reciting from memory the set portions of the appointed books of Greek and Latin verse. If your mind is well stored that way, you will prove a formidable adversary for anybody to cope with, and what is more, you can never be left alone with the harpies of the mind. Those glorious utterances of comfort and strength and pure delight made by the master spirits of the world will flash, like the daffodils of Wordsworth, upon the mind within, which is the bliss of solitude.

I shall now end with a few observations on another important matter. It is generally complained that our young men do not give adequate attention to the practice of writing. As a rule they write bad English ; and it is often pleaded as an excuse that English is a language foreign to them. I admit the truth of the complaint, but do not accept the plea. A foreigner has undoubtedly formidable difficulties lying in his way. He cannot be expected to write with that familiar ease and in that delightfully daring manner which is natural to the educated native. But I firmly believe that it is within the reach of any intelligent man to acquire the capacity of writing the least bad style in any foreign language, if only he exerts himself in the right direction. If a student writes bad English, his Bengali composition too would, on inspection, be found equally bad. What really matters is not nationality but a proper linguistic sense, a careful study of good models in earlier years, a habit of clear thinking, above all, a strong will to do the right thing. I knew a Persian lad from Samarkand, who wrote and spoke English with perfect ease after only three years' practice. An Italian girl whom I met in the house of an English friend, gave me a surprise when she told me that she was Italian, her English was so perfect and without the least taint of foreign accent ; and two years before I met her, she spoke only Italian. An Italian friend of mine speaks and writes English with fluency, though when he had landed at Bombay five years before I met him, he had no English in him. I have been shown English essays written by German lads after only a year's practice, which would do credit to many a graduate of our country.

The real defect in our system of teaching English here lies in the mistake we make in trying to teach it through high class literature

right from the earliest stage. You cannot learn a living language so. It is quicker and better learnt through the ear than through the eye. Actual and familiar contact with men, whose mother-tongue it is, is the best teacher. But conditioned as we are, this is but an idle dream. Matters, however, could be to a large extent improved by giving young boys in the first stage to read little primers and story books, written by Englishmen for use in England by English children, nursery tales and rhymes, and by calling in the aid of mechanical apparatus like the gramophone. I do not believe in teaching a foreign language through lessons adapted only to a setting familiar to the young learner. Little primers for teaching French to English boys have a French colouring throughout. I would say to a young learner of English: Make an early and familiar acquaintance with these unpretentious little books designedly written for little ones in simple English of everyday use. At a later stage read a large number of modern plays. Standard writers of an earlier date can wait until a good foundation has thus been laid. In writing your themes, be sure you have something to say. Arrange your thoughts. Never make an attempt at fine writing. Do not use two words when one may do. Exercise the strictest control on a tendency to be rhetorical. In your composition exercises, cut out the passages you consider to be fine with a merciless pen, revise your draft over and over until all your purple passages look rather drab. Then in all probability you may have attained the correct style. Remember always that the best style is the simplest and direct expression of thought—thought clearly and sincerely worked out previously in the mind. Study the best models of clear and simple and effective expression, but do not hope to imitate the masters. We can never wield the club of Hercules. R. L. Stevenson, of course in his experimental stage, “played,” as he says, “the sedulous ape” to a great many stylists, before he developed that charming style of his own. But he was a genius. We shall only injure ourselves by imitating his method.

I must now say good-bye to you. But before I sit down I will only say that whatever you put your hand to, do it for the pleasure of doing it. Remember that “though the success of the market is in the reward, true success is in the doing.” If the reward does not come, if you feel disappointed at your merits not being adequately valued in terms of Rupees, annas and pies, you may console yourselves with the thought that the world does not always reward its best workers. In

the memorable words of the Persian poet, Hafiz, "Too often are the withers of an Arab horse wrung by the pack-saddle, while we behold a gold chain dangling round the neck of a silly ass."

Let me conclude by repeating to you some of the noblest words that ever sanctified human lips, words which were uttered in this sacred land of ours centuries ago, but which, to our shame be it said, sound unfamiliar to our degenerate ears. The Hindu University of Benares has done well in adopting a part of this, the oldest charge to disciples on record, as the Vice-Chancellor's charge to graduates at the Convocation : সত্যং বদ, Speak the truth. ধর্ম্যং চর, Walk thou in the Way of Righteousness which sustaineth thee. স্বাধ্যায়ান্ মা প্রমদঃ, Let not thy mind wander away from thy studies. সত্যান্ ন প্রমদিতব্যম্, Swerve not from the truth. ধর্ম্যান্ ন প্রমদিতব্যম্, Let not thy feet wander from the Way of Righteousness which sustaineth thee. কুশলান্ ন প্রমদিতব্যম্, Be not remiss in doing things that make for thy good. ভৃত্যৈ ন প্রমদিতব্যম্, Neglect not to acquire spiritual wealth. স্বাধ্যায়প্রবচনাভ্যাং ন প্রমদিতব্যম্, Be not unmindful of what thou hast already learnt and of what thou hast to teach. দেবপিতৃকর্মাভ্যাং ন প্রমদিতব্যম্, Slacken not thine energy in acts of piety towards the gods and thy forbears. মাতৃদেবো ভব, Regard thy mother as thy deity. পিতৃদেবো ভব, Be thy father as a god unto thee. আচার্যদেবো ভব, Revere thy preceptor as thou wouldst a god. অতিথিদেবো ভব, Honour thy guest as if he were a god যানি অনবত্তানি কৰ্ম্মাণি তানি সেবিতব্যানি, নো ইতরাণি, Whatsoever things are blameless, those shalt thou do ; act thou not otherwise. শ্রদ্ধয়া দেয়ম্, Whatsoever thou wouldst give, give it in a spirit of reverence. অশ্রদ্ধয়াহ দেয়ম্, Give it not in a churlish spirit of irreverence. প্রিয়া দেয়ম্, Give in a measure proportioned to thy means. হ্রিয়া দেয়ম্, Bestow gifts with a humble heart. ভীয়া দেয়ম্, Have fear lest thou shouldst wound the feelings of him unto whom thou givest. সংবিদা দেয়ম্, Give in a spirit of friendliness and love."

Listen now to the prayer of the disciple : শরীরং মে বিচর্ষণম্, May I keep fit in body. জিহ্বা মে মধুমত্তমা, May my tongue drop words sweet as honey. কর্ণাভ্যাং ভূরি বিশ্রবম্, Precepts many may mine ears be open to receive. যশো জনেহসানি, May good fame among men be mine. শ্রেয়ান্ বতোসোহসানি, May I rise superior to the worldly rich. অবতু যাম্, Give me thy protection, O Lord! অবতু বক্তারম্, Protect thou my preceptor too.

I do not know of a more elevating prayer for both teacher and taught than this : সহ নো যশঃ, May men speak well of us both. সহ নো ব্রহ্মবর্চসম্, May we both feel within us the divine afflatus. সহবীৰ্য্য

করবাবহৈ, May the strength needed for acquiring wisdom be ours.
 তেজস্বি নাবনীতমস্ত, May what we have studied together shine forth in
 all its glory and strength. বা বিধিবাবহৈ, Let not the mind of either
 of us be sullied with rancour and malice. ওঁ শান্তিঃ, শান্তিঃ, শান্তিঃ, Peace
 be unto all.

I thank you for the patient hearing you have given me. In his
 treatise on Moral Duties (*De Officiis*), Cicero sums up the qualities
 which best can win a good name for a young man, as “modestia
 cum pietate in parentes, in suos benevolentia,” sobriety of behaviour,
 accompanied by a loving and dutiful regard for parents and goodwill
 unto his own. May that good name be yours !

EVOLUTION OF HAMLET'S PERSONALITY

DR. MOHINIMOHAN BHATTACHERJE, M.A., PH.D., P.R.S.

IT has been remarked that in *Hamlet* two incongruous elements have been brought together, which could not possibly be harmonised—the personality of the Prince and the story of which he is the central figure. The latter is coarse, while the former is polished. One is traceable to legendary times, while the other is the product of the sixteenth. One belongs to the Iron Age, while the other is the outcome of the Italian Renaissance. According to one critic, “Shakespeare could not make a psychologically or otherwise consistent play out of a plot which retained a strictly barbaric action, while the hero was transformed into a super-subtle Elizabethan.”¹

It is the personality of the Prince that distinguishes Shakespeare's drama from other revenge plays of the Elizabethan Age, which resemble it closely in respect of their plots, and each of which might have been its prototype. The *Spanish Tragedy* of Kyd, Marston's *Antonio and Mellida* and *Malcontent* belong to this category and may be regarded as having exercised some influence—however distant and slight it might have been—on the composition of *Hamlet*. Antonio, who is pressed for revenge by the ghost of his father Andrugio (in *Antonio's Revenge*, second part of *Antonio and Mellida*), reminds one of the Danish Prince. The Duke in *Malcontent*, who pretends madness and speaks poignant truths, does the same. Like Hamlet, Hieronimo feigns madness, procrastinates, thinks of suicide but desists, is a writer of verse, arranges a dramatic entertainment, gives directions to the players and discourses on comedy and tragedy. He meets his end in avenging the murder of his son, as Hamlet died in his effort to avenge his father's murder. But the personality of Hamlet raises Shakespeare's play to quite a different plane of literary creation.

It not only constitutes the dramatic unity of the tragedy, but is responsible for its mysterious and undefined charm which is without a parallel. Neither the Danish History of Saxo, nor even Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques* leads the reader to expect a drama with

¹ J. M. Robertson, *The Problem of Hamlet*, p. 74.

a unique appeal like the tragedy of the Prince of Denmark. If its sources were to give any indication, it should have been a mere typical revenge play, and in the end Hamlet should have waded through the blood of his uncle to the throne. And this is exactly what happened in the original story. Had Shakespeare been only a Senecan, *Hamlet*, having its sources in Saxo and Belleforest, would have been a pseudo-classical tragedy. Sententious speeches would have been far more important than action, and horror and bloodshed would have been its main *motifs*. If, again, contemporary Italian novels—so much in vogue in Elizabethan England—had obsessed Shakespeare, machinations of villains, secret poisoning, treachery and betrayal would have been its most noticeable features. As it is, in Shakespeare's play the personality of the Prince—in its mysterious suggestiveness and profundity—stands out above all other appeal.

It is impossible to fathom the mystery which has been intensified by contributions from a variety of sources. The stages of its growth can only be noted. The evolution of Hamlet's personality from its germ in Saxo to its mature bloom in Shakespeare, is interesting study, but is a pretty vast subject. Just one aspect of it will be dealt with here, *viz.*, the transmutation of the barbaric and unscrupulous Amleth into the brilliant and charming Prince of Denmark.

Part of the charm of Hamlet may be traced to the infusion of the Renaissance ideal of courtesy. This had been popularised in England by translations of Italian courtesy books, and specially by Hoby's *Courtier*. The latter had attracted the admiration of men like Ascham, Harvey, Sidney and the poet Spenser whose *Fairie Queene*, Bk. VI, is an allegory of the virtue of courtesy. This Renaissance ideal was in the air, so to say, in Elizabethan England, and Shakespeare had breathed it in. Its trace in *Hamlet* may be brought out by a comparison of Shakespeare's hero with Saxo's and Belleforest's, and of the two portraits of the Prince as painted in the two Quartos.

The First Quarto of *Hamlet* is regarded by some as Shakespeare's first draft of the play, and the Second Quarto as an improvement on it. Others, however, think that the latter represents the completed work of Shakespeare, and is based on his autograph manuscript, while the former is only a piratical reprint of it, extremely mutilated. These views are partly suggested by different interpretations of the declaration on the title-page of the Quarto of 1605, which,

however, makes it clear that the Second was intended to supersede the First Quarto. The "true and perfect coppie" might have been the "enlarged" version—the product of revision and elaboration by the dramatist (of his work as published in 1603). It might also mean Shakespeare's first and complete draft, the abridged or mutilated version of which had come out in 1603. Revision and recasting were common in Shakespeare's days, while an abridgement of a play to half its original size, with changes of the names of some of its principal characters, is rather unlikely, though a slight pruning is quite possible. If, therefore, it is true that Shakespeare revised his earlier work in the Second Quarto, the result of the revision has been to introduce those touches and to emphasise those attributes of Hamlet, which were suggested by the Renaissance ideal of personal excellence.

In the *Cortegiano*, which was the most popular hand book of Renaissance courtesy, mention is made of comprehensive culture, including interest in poetry, painting, music, etc., physical beauty, skill in handling arms, sense of honour, wit, gift of speech and popularity as the necessary qualifications of a courtier. Capacity for noble love and sincere friendship is also insisted on. Hamlet in Shakespeare is rich in all these, while his prototype in Saxo and in Belleforest hardly reveals any trace of them.

It is conceivable that Shakespeare had modelled the Prince on the hero of the *Ur-Hamlet*, which he is believed to have had before him when preparing his first draft. As Kyd's play has been lost, Shakespeare's obligation to his predecessor can only be a matter of conjecture. But from what is known of him and his work, the conclusion is irresistible that Kyd had hardly any sympathy for the culture of the Renaissance, and that his hero, like Hieronimo in the *Spanish Tragedy*, only delighted in bloodshed and revenge. If, as the Cambridge editors suggest, portions of the old play "are still preserved in the Quarto of 1603," which represents Shakespeare's first draft, they cannot possibly bear on those qualities of Hamlet which have made his personality so attractive. There, therefore, must be Shakespeare's own contribution, suggested by the ideas of personal excellence transplanted in England from Renaissance Italy.

Saxo belonged to the twelfth century, and it would be futile to look for traces of culture in his hero, which were inconceivable in his own age. Belleforest's work belonged indeed to the sixteenth century, but it closely followed Saxo's. It, however, represents his temptress as the

Prince's lover, and mentions his "overgreat melancholy." Shakespeare follows Belleforest on these two points, but with some reservation. Love in the latter is the ordinary earthly passion. Hamlet's love of Ophelia is more refined, and certainly elevates his character. The Renaissance amorists regarded such love as the mark of a noble soul. It is the subject of the impassioned speech of Bembo in Book IV of the *Cortegiano*, and of the discourses of many other courtesy books. "I lov'de Ofelia as deere as twenty brothers could," declares Hamlet to Laertes on the burial-ground (Q. 1). This noble love is to be contrasted with the vulgar passion of Amleth (as mentioned in Saxo), and is set in relief against the dark background of the Queen's adultery and incest. The poignant speeches of Hamlet to Ophelia, prompted by his mother's misconduct, also bring into prominence his conception of true love.

Saxo's Amleth, as much Belleforest's, is a cruel and unscrupulous prince stung by the thought that he has been deprived of his rightful inheritance by his wicked uncle who has also seduced his mother, and Amleth's chief object is to occupy the throne. If this involves the punishment of the seducer, it has to be inflicted. He deliberately simulates madness to achieve his end. In Belleforest's *Hystorie of Hamblet* the prince says: "Seeing that by force I cannot effect my desire, Reason alloweth me by dissimulation, subtilities and secret practises to proceed therein." He waits for his chance, and when he has it, he cruelly burns down the whole palace with all its inmates, though his uncle is not there, only to weaken his support. He next kills him, and mounts the throne. In the First Quarto, Hamlet's desire for revenge is given greater prominence than his ambition for the throne.¹ In Shakespeare Hamlet once checks his temptation of killing the King when he is at prayer. Whatever may have been his reason this time, he has already made up his mind not to take any step against the King before confirmation of the Ghost's story. This means putting off his opportunity of mounting the throne, and actually his tragic end deprives him of it altogether. The mental attitude of Hamlet is what Castiglione would call *honesty*. "In *this* is comprehended the goodnesse, the wisdom, the manlinesse and temperance of the mind and all other qualities that belong to

¹ J. D. Wilson, *What Happens in Hamlet*, p. 121.

so worthie a name”¹ Contrasting Hamlet’s irresolution with Laertes’s brilliant impetuosity, Prof. Dover Wilson remarks: “In the field of action Laertes puts him utterly to shame. But decision and determination do not make *character*, though the world thinks so. There is also nobility and generosity, *honour* and *integrity* of soul, and in this sphere Hamlet shines “like a star i’t’h’ darkest night” against the base iniquity of his opponents.”²

There is nothing common between Amleth and the Prince of Denmark except a little subtlety and desire for revenge. “All the differences of motive between Shakespeare and Saxo depend on their different conceptions of the prince’s character, Amleth being quite sane and quite resolute and Hamlet neither.”³ Hamlet is, as Ophelia says, a *courtier*, *scholar* and *soldier* at the same time. He is a student of Philosophy in the University of Wittenberg, a skilled swordsman and an accomplished youth who would be an ornament of any court. He is—to use an expression rendered familiar in later times—a scholar-gentleman. Neither Belleforest’s nor Saxo’s Amleth has any pretension to such distinction. Hamlet as a soldierly scholar-gentleman is only a replica of the Renaissance courtier. Says Castiglione: “Beside goodness the true and principall ornament of the mind in every man are *letters*.” “I returne again unto our courtier whom in *letters* I will have to be more than indifferently well seen, at the least in those studies which they call *Humanity*.” Again, “Neither should I want the examples of so many excellent captains of old times, which all joined the *ornament of letters* with *promesse of armes*.” The courtier has also to be conversant with the classics, history and other branches of knowledge.

Hamlet’s portrait in the First Quarto is retouched in the Second. There are undoubtedly in the latter a more profound contemplativeness and a greater dramatic propriety in the Prince’s character. For example, his scepticism and hesitancy, just noticeable in the First Quarto, intensify in the Second, while the reason for scepticism is given as theological doubt. Being about half the size of the Second Quarto, the First contains only in an abbreviated form those ‘passages of mingled

¹ *The Courtier*. Bk. I.

² *What Happens in Hamlet*, pp. 275-76.

³ Introduction to *The Tragical History of Amleth Prince of Jutland by Saxe Grammaticus*, tr. O. Elton.

philosophy and imaginative eloquence which, elaborated in the Second, give the drama its distinguishing note.' But the personality of Hamlet too has here been made more brilliant and more impressive and hence more attractive to the modern mind. For example, Claudius's description of Hamlet as "*our chieftest courtier*" appears for the first time in the Second Quarto.

Claudius's tribute to Hamlet's *nobility of soul*, of which he is eager to take full advantage in his conspiracy with Laertes, is sincere and well-deserved :

" Most *generous* and free from all contriving."

But this line is introduced for the first time in the Second Quarto. Hamlet's goodness shines forth again in his feelings towards Laertes as revealed towards its end. " That is Laertes, a very noble youth," he exclaims to Horatio, as he notices him in the funeral procession. The line does not occur in the First Quarto. Hamlet's apologies to his opponent before the duel are also fuller and more sincere in the Second than in the First Quarto.

Aristotle's and Cicero's thoughts on friendship had strongly appealed to Renaissance writers who glorified this virtue as they glorified love. Castiglione thinks that a courtier cannot do without it, and writes : " Without this perfect friendship men were much more unluckie than all other living creatures"¹ Undoubtedly one of the few delightful features of *Hamlet* with its gruesome and revolting surroundings—treachery, espionage, lust and bloodshed—is the bond of affection between the Prince and Horatio. Saxo as well as Belleforest mentions a foster-brother who informs the hero of the King's plot to tempt him through a girl. The transformation of this informant into Horatio reveals the influence of Renaissance courtesy on Shakespeare. Friendship exists only between people of like nature. Hence the mere acquaintance develops into Hamlet's fellow-student in the University, sharing his thoughts and feelings, brave, sceptical and generous like the Prince. There is indeed some obvious difference between the two, and this is why Horatio is a foil to Hamlet.

Horatio as friend is seen to better advantage in the Second Quarto. The magnificent lines in which the Prince expresses his sincere appreciation of his character appear only here (III. ii. 63-74 of current text). Again, Horatio's recognition of Hamlet's love and solicitude for him,

¹. *The Courtier*, Bk. I.

comes out in two lines which are also introduced here for the first time :

“ I do not know from what part of the world
I should be greeted, if not from Lord Hamlet.”

Hamlet's intellectual culture—fostered, no doubt, by his residence in the University—is revealed in his depth of insight and literary taste. As Rosencrantz says, he takes “ such delight ” in dramatic performances, and is keenly interested in the players. He is apt at literary work too, and can possibly compose a play—at any rate, he composes a passage and inserts it at the appropriate place in the play which is going to be staged. Castiglione says: “ There arose . . . from time to time, not only in Tuskane but in all Italy, among gentlemen brought up in court, in armes and in letters, some studie to speake and to *write more finely* than they did in the first rude age when the turmoil of the miseries that rose through barbarous nations, was not as yet quieted.” The poems recited by Hamlet now and then (during his pretended madness) may in some cases be traced by scholars to old ballads, but some of them, at any rate, are intended to appear as his own improvisation.¹ As originally conceived, Hamlet had indeed a poetic temperament, but his power of versification is expressly mentioned in the Second Quarto. Horatio remarks, after the play is over: “ You might have rimed.” Cultured men, according to Castiglione, were expected to have some proficiency in writing verses. He says: “ Let him (the courtier) much exercise himself in poets, and also in *writing both rime and prose.*”

Oratory was considered a great accomplishment in the classical age. Its revival was only to be expected during the Renaissance, and the art of speaking with proper pronunciation, pause and emphasis and without gesticulation, is recommended by Castiglione to the courtier. The latter requires “ *a good voice, not too subtile or soft as in a woman: nor yet so boisterous and rough as in one of the countrie, but shrill, clear, sweete and well-framed with prompt pronunciation and with fit maners and gestures . . . with a moving of the eyes that may give a grace and accomde with the wordes.*” Says Guazzo: “ It is much in my opinion to keepe a certain *majesty in the gesture* which speaketh as it were by using silence . . . yet hereby is required such a *moderation* that a man with too little be not immovable like

¹ The poem in his letter to Ophelia is certainly his own composition.

an image, neither with too much, too busy like an ape—the *pronunciation* be neither too swift nor too slow—lastly, *the voice* must be neither faint like one that is sick . . . *neither shrill nor loud* like a crier. One should avoid a player-like kinde of lightness and see the *woordes agree to the gesture*”¹ The influence of these admonitions may be traced even in the First Quarto in Hamlet's advice to the players: “Pronounce me this speech trippingly on the tongue as I taught thee, etc.” In the Second Quarto a few more lines are introduced, emphasising the value of appropriate and natural gesture, *viz.*, “Let your own discretion be your tutor. *Suit the action to the word, the word to the action* ; with the special observance, that you o'er-step not the modesty of nature ; for anything so overdone is from the purpose of playing whose end . . . is to hold, as it were, the mirror up to nature.” The importance of elocution is made more distinct in these lines. They are not wholly a comment on contemporary acting.

Italian courtesy includes love of fine arts like music and painting. In the *Courtier* there is a lengthy discussion on the relative value of painting and sculpture. Painting includes drawing which helps military officers to prepare plans of the enemy's fortifications, etc., but the brush and the canvas help people to appreciate the beauty of human form, its symmetry and proportion—“the beauty of lively bodies, and not only in the sweetness of the phisiognomie, but in the proportion of all the rest as well in men as other living creatures.”² Hamlet's reference to the portraits of his father and uncle even in the First Quarto shows how keen his appreciation of human form and “phisiognomie” is :

“ See here a face, to outface Mars himselfe,
An eye, at which his foes did tremble at,
A front wherein all vertues are set downe
For to adorne a King, and guild his crowne . . .
Looke you now, here is your husband,
With a face like Vulcan,
A looke fit for a murder and a rape,
A dull dead hanging looke, and a hell-bred eie.”

The alterations in the passage in the Second Quarto suggest a keener aesthetic sense in the Prince in consonance with his more impressive

¹ *Civil Conversation*, tr. G. Pettie, Bk. III.

² *The Courtier*, Bk. I.

personality in it. *Grace* is mentioned by Italian writers on courtesy as an undefined source of beauty, and Hamlet says to Gertrude :

“ See what a *grace* was seated on this browe :
Hyperions curles, the front of Jove himselfe,
An eye like Mars, to threaten and command . . .
A combination and a form indeed—”

What distinguishes painting from sculpture is the use of colours which provide a veritable feast for the eye. Castiglione describes rapturously the firmament itself as a superb painting: “ The ensigne of the world that we behold with a large skye, so bright with shining starres, and in the midst, the earth, environed with the seas, severed in partes with hilles, dales, and rivers, and so decked with such divers trees, beautiful flowers and herbs, a man may say it to be a noble and great painting, drawn with the hand of Nature and of God.” The pictorial sense which underlies this passage, may be paralleled by that in Hamlet’s famous speech to his schoolmates in the Second Quarto, which, curiously enough, is almost similarly phrased, and which is one of the finest prose pieces written by Shakespeare: “ This goodly frame the earth seemes to mee a sterill promontorie ; this most excellent canopie the ayre, looke you, this *brave* o’er-hanging firmament, this majestically roofe fretted with *golden fire*, why, it appeareth nothing to me but a foule and pestilent congregation of vapours.” In the First Quarto the passage is shorter and has hardly any artistic merit unconnected with the trend of the dialogue :

“ —this great world you see contents me not,
No nor the spangled heavens, nor earth nor sea,
No nor Man that is so glorious a creature.”

Skill in fencing was regarded as a much-needed accomplishment of the courtier. It was an important form of physical exercise too. Castiglione would expect him “ to have understanding in all exercises of the body that belong to a man of warre . . . to be skilful in those weapons that are used ordinarily *among gentlemen*.” Italy’s influence is to be seen in the origin and growth of a special literature on duelling in England. “ Material from Muzio’s *Il Duello* appeared in an unacknowledged translation as *Vincentio Saviolo his Practise* (1565). The second book of this was in turn abridged as *The Booke of*

Honour and Armes (1590).''¹ Italian influence is further noticeable in the weapons latterly used in duels in Elizabethan England. Rapier and dagger were the two Italian weapons which came into use there in the sixteenth century in place of the English national weapons like the sword and the axe. Prof. Dover Wilson mentions that at the time when *Hamlet* was staged, three varieties of sword-play were possible: "sword-and-buckler-play, the old English fashion of fighting with the short broad-sword in one hand and light target in the other; single rapier-play . . . and thirdly, rapier-and-dagger-play. At the end of the sixteenth century English methods had given place with persons of fashion to the rapier-play imported from abroad, and the sword-and-buckler men were regarded as out of date. Single rapier, moreover, was less favoured at the moment than rapier and dagger." ² Hamlet and Laertes played with these two weapons. That proficiency in fencing was recognised as a courtly accomplishment in Elizabethan days, is more clearly brought out in the Second Quarto than in the First. The report of Lamond's admiration of Laertes's swordmanship by the King (in about 10 lines), appears for the first time in the Second Quarto. The Courtier who is sent as an emissary by the King to lure Hamlet to the fencing-match (named Osric in the current text) has really no prototype in the First Quarto. "The Braggart Gentleman" is hardly a tempter, and really corresponds to the Lord who in the Second Quarto comes to summon Hamlet to "attend him (the King) in the hall." Though just a sentence or two regarding the wager (included in the speeches of the Courtier in the Second Quarto) is put into his mouth, he does not "praise the excellence of Laertes with his weapon, in order to excite the envy of the Prince." The Courtier in Q. 2 praises Laertes as "an *absolute gentleman* newly come to court, full of most *excellent differences*, of very soft society . . . *the calendar of gentry*." This encomium and the attributing to him of perfect swordmanship 'in which hee's unfellowed,' show the value attached to fencing in the play.

In Q. 1 the match is briefly described, and is a comparatively tame affair. In Q. 2 the circumstances are showy, and the stage-setting more attractive. The King makes a pompous speech, and

¹ J. E. Mason, *Gentlefolk in the Making*, p. 49.

² *What Happens in Hamlet*, pp. 279-80.

when Hamlet wins the first bout, trumpets sound, Claudius drinks to his health, and canon are fired in his honour. This is certainly "the most thrilling climax to the most thrilling play of all times."

Hamlet's fondness for swordsmanship and his skill in it are also brought out more clearly in Q. 2. Here, more than in Q. 1, the King emphasises how the Prince grew envious of Laertes when Lamond described the latter's perfection as a fencer. When Horatio drops a hint in Q. 2 that he might lose the wager, Hamlet replies: "I doe not thinke so; since he went into France, I have bene in continual practise." The King also expresses in Q. 2 his confidence in the ultimate victory of Hamlet when he has seen his performance for a while with his own eyes. After the second bout he speaks out: "Our sonne shall winne." This may be "well-simulated glee," but it is Hamlet's scoring that prompts it. Laertes's 'poisoned sharp' has not as yet been able to touch Hamlet, and when he tells the King, "My lord, I'll hit him now," the latter 'doubts his capacity to pass Hamlet's guard,' and rejoins, "I do not think't."

Wit was not a characteristic mark either of the Philosopher of ancient Greece, or of the Roman Orator; but it was regarded as an accomplishment in Renaissance Italy, and Castiglione thinks that the courtier 'shall never want merry conceites to provoke' laughter.¹ The Italian author is here referring to pleasant humour which is the salt of conversation. In Hamlet, who is of an abnormal and almost a pathological mental condition, it reveals itself as mordant wit. Belleforest's Amleth as well as Saxo's may come in here for comparison with the Prince, for there is a superficial resemblance amongst them in this respect. But really the Amleths are wordy and ambiguous, without the intellectual depth out of which humour or wit issues. None of the two has any occasion to speak except on matters connected with his design to fulfil his revenge, and his equivocation is meant only to screen him against the King's spies. Hamlet's character is many-sided, and there is full scope for his brilliant wit and mental powers. These are shown to better advantage in the Second Quarto than in the First.

According to Castiglione a courtier should possess qualities which win the affection of common people. "By virtue of his many qualities the courtier getteth him a reputation, specially among the multitude unto whom a man must sometime apply himself."²

¹ *The Courtier*, Bk. II.

² *The Courtier*, Bk. I.

Hamlet is a more popular figure in the Second Quarto than in the First. In the former Claudius tells Laertes frankly that one of the reasons why he could not proceed against the Prince for the murder of Polonius, is

“—the great love the generall gender beare him,
Who, dipping all his faults in theyr affection,
Worke, like the spring that turneth wood to stone,
Convert his Gives to graces—”

This passage has no parallel in the First Quarto, and nothing corresponding to it appears in Saxo or in Belleforest. But apart from blind admiration for Hamlet hinted at in it, the people felt real attraction for his manners and courtesy which were the objects of their emulation. This is emphasised in the Second Quarto. Ophelia's celebrated estimate of Hamlet is more briefly expressed in Q. 1 than in Q. 2. As against

“ The courtier, scholler, souldier, all in him,
All dasht and splinterd thence—”

the Second Quarto has this passage :

“ O what a noble mind is heere o'rethrowne !
The courtier's, souldiers, schollers eye, tongue, sword,
Th' expectation, and rose of the faire state,
The glasse of fashion, and the mould of forme,
Th' observ'd of all observers, quite quite down . . .
That unmatched forme, and stature of blowne youth
Blasted with extacie.”

The last passage together with the King's speech to Laertes, has certainly the effect of modifying Shakespeare's original conception of the personality of Hamlet.

PLAY

M. N. BANERJI, M.A.

Ranchi

THERE is apt to be a good deal of loose thinking about the term "Play." Most of us look upon it as something frivolous and childish a blind unpurposive activity serving at best as a mere relaxation from the serious occupations of life with its strain and tension. But rightly understood, it is no simple phenomenon. It has a significance, very wide and deep. It will be found that it is the one dominant note of the Universe, the great Demi-urge of life itself. A school of Indian Philosophers and thinkers has tried to solve the eternal Sphinx-riddle of the creation of the Universe by attributing it to Divine play. The One Supreme Reality, timeless and changeless, chooses to be many and in a mood of sportive dalliance, unrolls this vast cosmic panorama in Time and Space, with its pansy hues, its ever-renewed and ever-renewing rhythm and melody. Divine creative activity, with its eternal process of self-differentiation and its ceaseless pattern-weaving of changeless Being into ever-changing becoming, has thus its roots in the play-spirit. Similarly, all the highest human activity which is a reflection of and akin to Divine activity is also marked by the spirit of play.

Psychologists have put forward various interesting and important theories to explain the native tendency to play in man. We have, first of all, the Schiller-Spencer theory regarding play, that it is a mere formless discharge of a surplus of energy. More important is the anticipatory teleological theory, first adumbrated by Malebranche and later developed by Karl Groos, emphasising the essence of play to be its biological utility, in that all play in men anticipates the future activities of their adult lives and prepares them for the serious business of manhood. Then we have the reminiscent theory of Professor Stanley Hall, according to which, in play, "the child is not so much rehearsing the serious activities of his own adult life as harking back to and recapitulating those of his remote ancestors." Lastly, we have what we may call the Cathartic theory of play, according to

which play provides an outlet for the discharge of pent-up instincts and emotions which cannot find sufficient direct expression in life.

Now a study of the various theories referred to above, which are complementary rather than contradictory, will reveal to us the complex and momentous nature of the phenomenon of play. It will be brought home to us that play is no mere aimless or formless discharge of energy but is joyful, spontaneous, creative activity, in which man finds his fullest self-expression. It is a free natural unfolding of inner impulses. It is an activity which, to borrow the paradoxical phrase of Kant, is "Purposive without any purpose," i.e., it is something pursued spontaneously for no end beyond itself. It is enjoyed for its own sake and is its own reward. From this, however, it must not be taken that it is entirely aimless. It has a direction and a purpose, and an ideal to be pursued and realised. But the purpose is self-imposed and the ideal self-prescribed. The fact of the matter is that in play the liberated human personality becomes so inseparably inwoven with the purpose or ideal that the goal is lost in the pursuit, the end in the means, the player melts into the play and the music goes on, ringing out the rhythm of perfect freedom and joy.

The essential features and characteristics of play may be stated as follows:—

- (1) A feeling of freedom and spontaneity ;
- (2) Self-forgetfulness of the individual, followed by complete absorption in the activity in hand ;
- (3) Functional delight, the gratification derived from the play, is immediate, being inherent in the activity itself.

All good play taps abundant stores of psychic energy—the entire gamut of connative resources which, pooled and mobilised, lead to the greatest efficiency in all mental effort. Man's highest achievements have been reached in the spirit of play. The greatest geniuses are those that have brought to bear upon their work the same forgetfulness, the same go and abandon, the same complete identification with the activity in hand, that the play spirit signifies. In fact, to achieve anything of solid and permanent value we must cultivate the cult of "Peter-Pantheism." Emerson, with his intuitive vision and calm luminous wisdom, hits off the true inwardness of the play spirit even in the higher planes of life when he says: "The one thing which we seek with insatiable desire is to forget ourselves, to be surprised out of our propriety, to lose our sempiternal memory,

and to do something without knowing how or why 'A man,' said Cromwell, 'never rises so high as when he knows not whither he is going.' "

In the sphere of art, the play spirit is best exemplified. To be a successful actor, the real key to success lies in forgetting himself in the identity of the rôle—the actor should merge body and soul into that of the character assumed and feel thoroughly to be the personality of the would-be or the would-have-been character which he or she represents.

Similarly, the play spirit permeates man's highest ethical activity also. One cannot attain the highest degree of moral perfection, if one were merely to react to the inhibitive pressure of a censorious monitor. "Merely intellectual assent to the categorical imperative produces ethical theory, only a volitional consent to the moral 'ought' produces stereotyped goodness," but it is the unconditional surrender by the whole personality to the 'ought' of moral values that produces true morality—morality that is creative. Moral activity to be worth the salt must be performed joyfully and spontaneously with a minimum of external compulsion and restraint.

Lastly, the play spirit dominates and includes all the workings of the new spirit in education. Thoughtful educationists all insist that the whole of education should be conducted in the spirit of play, the 'play-way' being the formula which sums up the modern spirit in education. The Montessori method with its "didactic apparatus" and "sensory gymnastics," the Heuristic method of Prof. Armstrong, seeking to "put the pupil in the position of the discoverer and to give him the elation of 'some watcher of the skies when a new planet swims into his ken,' " the Project method stressing the need of problematic acts being carried to completion in their natural setting, the Dalton plan with its assignments and contract system, are the many and various attempts made by the educationists to seek a universal method of education based essentially on the 'play-way'.

Thus, we will have, by now, realised something of the complex and momentous nature of the phenomenon of play, its subtle ubiquitousness, permeating every department of human activity, every walk and endeavour of life. It is through play alone that man discovers himself and is enabled to live creatively, growing ever into the rich fullness of his being.

MEANING OF TRUTH IN PRAGMATISM

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THE use of the conception of " truth," as Dr. Schiller says, is a habit peculiar to man. We use the word often, indeed, but when asked what it really means we find difficulty in defining it. Any attempt to express the meaning of truth by a mere synonym has not yet proved successful. Its meaning has sometimes been hinted at by reference to its opposite falsity, and by contrast with good and beautiful, which similarly possess antithetical predicates in the bad and the ugly. The meaning of truth, therefore, needs more than a word; it needs a combination of meaningful words into a phrase expressive of a complete thought, or more logically, a proposition.

There has always been some controversy among philosophers in their attempt to give an exact meaning to truth. To the naïve unreflective mind it simply means the agreement of thought with thing or, as Mr. Baillie puts it, of the object-as-it-is-for-consciousness with the object-as-it-is-in-itself. Such a " representative " or " copy " theory, as it is called, is not accepted by many thinkers, inasmuch as it makes facts out of would-be facts prior to knowledge. The object-as-it-is-in-itself is a mere abstraction, and, therefore, cannot present itself before the act of knowing. The theory faces more and more criticisms when it takes for granted " an independent reality to which thought is supposed to correspond " in a more or less passive way and when knowledge is made simply a " faithful transcript " of nature.

To avoid this difficulty some thinkers have taken shelter in subjective idealism and sought truth in the region of thought alone. Instead of correspondence, they have made consistency or internal coherence of ideas the real test of truth. According to this view, then, even the vision of an air-castle is true, if it fits in with the ideas already held true in us. The value of this consistency theory, however, lies in the realization that there is an inner side of truth, that reality can only be comprehended through experience and that " truth cannot be described as an external relation between propositions and reality " as the correspondence theory would advocate.

Another class of thinkers tried to avoid the correspondence theory by discarding the dualistic conception and introducing a theory of absolute monism. They made truth a synonym for reality or ultimate reality as Mr. Bradley would like to put it. "Truth," says he, "is the whole universe realising itself in one aspect."¹ Such a conception seems unjustly to narrow the meaning of truth by tying it up with a certain subtle system of metaphysics. Truth is, indeed, understood from the logical standpoint as a result of rational thinking. Monism, no doubt, has a peculiar bearing upon deep human insight on account of the mind's inclination toward unification, but it becomes almost impossible for the people to reduce all into "the one," denying even a shade of pluralism whatsoever.

Besides these correspondence, coherence, and monistic theories of truth, there have been some other theories with less philosophical basis, such as authoritarian and intuitive theories. As regards the former, there have always been some minds that have a disposition to vicarious speculation and to bearing upon external authority. Truth, according to this class, consists in conformity with scriptures of some kind. The Christian belief in the infallibility of the Bible and the scholastic slavery to Aristotelian thought may serve as typical examples of the authoritarian doctrine of truth. Intuitionism, on the other hand, propounds a theory according to which self-evidence is the criterion of truth. The difficulty in this theory is that self-evidence is not always sufficient in determining truth. Propositions are often self-evident and yet not true. What is self-evident to one may not be so to another. That is why Dr. Schiller, referring to intuitive truths, has curtly remarked that "geniuses, ladies, and lunatics are particularly prone to them."²

Nevertheless, all these theories have been holding their ground among world thinkers as well as those who do but very little thinking. Some have gone to one extreme of rational thinking and have couched truth in a language extremely obscure, while some have gone to the other extreme of irrational belief in an authoritarian doctrine verging on religious superstition. This has brought about a sharp cleavage between the thinkers and the unthoughtful, the former taking pride in a sort of intellectual aristocracy, the latter descending into a realm

¹ *On Truth and Copying*, "Mind," April, 1907.

² *Formal Logic*, p. 226.

of human automata. The cult of intellectualism has reached its zenith in some dry dialectic and has afforded a callous comfort to many an obscurantist who seems to acquire a virtual monopoly of all distinctions that a real philosopher can possibly deserve. It has created such a vast difference between philosophers and ordinary people that the latter have been forced to maintain a studied indifference to any philosophical inquiries, leaving them as suitable occupations for idle speculators. Under such circumstances as these certain thinkers have come out with a new idea to rehabilitate the human relationship in the discussion of the truth concept and to remove what they consider to be a scarecrow from the field of human thoughts. Their aim seems to be directed to making philosophy common property and to emphasising its social side. This kind of philosophy has appeared all of a sudden as a reaction against extreme intellectualism in order to emphasise equally the head and the heart and to bridge over the gulf of human thoughts. It has its fundamental difficulties, as any other system has, but it has its good side too. It holds a prominent place among recent philosophical movements and is known all over the civilized world as the pragmatic theory of truth.

This theory of truth forms the central point of the pragmatic movement. It concerns itself not so much with the noun "truth" as with the adjective "true,"³ perhaps with a view to making the idea clear in a concrete way. It speaks of "truth" not in the abstract, for any abstraction is repugnant to the pragmatist, but of "truth" expressing the qualitative value of our ideas.⁴ It is enough for our present purpose to proceed to examine the several meanings of "truth" in pragmatism, and in this we shall limit ourselves to the three chief representatives—James, Dewey, and Schiller.⁵ They take up certain beliefs or ideas or propositions and then speak about truth by referring to what we say about them. Such a method of approach has its inevitable difficulty which has made the theory often rather cumbersome. As it is, however, not my present purpose to attempt any criticism of the pragmatic theory, it is better to find out only the common characteristics of truth as propounded by the three

³ James later changed the word "true" to "truthful" to satisfy his critics. See *The Meaning of Truth*, p. 225.

⁴ In the language of James, truth is a "property of our beliefs and opinions."

⁵ "Pragmatism, as the theory is generally understood, rests in the main upon the work of the three men, Profs. James and Dewey of America and Dr. Schiller of Oxford." Caldwell, *Pragmatism and Idealism*, p. 3.

great philosophers of our age—characteristics which constitute the meaning of truth in pragmatism. There are, no doubt, divergences in the details of this theory of truth, but there are also some important points of agreement among them which form the common characteristics. We may classify these characteristics into four distinct aspects :

1. The Functional or Teleological aspect. Truth is that which satisfies a need. To satisfy a need means to be useful. Usefulness is generally the criterion of the good. This is why, perhaps, all of them like to associate the word "true" so often with the word "good." "The true is the name of whatever proves itself to be good in the way of belief, too, for definite assignable reasons."⁶ Ideas, to be true according to Dewey, must needs be useful. For him the "effective working of the idea and its truth are one and the same thing." Schiller, too, was in no way less explicit when he said: "Seeing that everywhere truth and falsity depend on the purpose.....we begin to perceive...that the predicates 'true' and 'false' are not unrelated to 'good' and 'bad' for good and bad also have reference to purpose."⁷

2. The Inductive and Experimental aspect. Pragmatic philosophy is pre-eminently a rebellion against the prevalent *a priori* philosophy of the extreme idealists. "To banish the abstract from philosophy so far as possible and to substitute for it the individual concrete in the interest of clear thinking has been one of the great and excellent aims of pragmatism."⁸ "The links of experience sequent upon an idea which mediate between it and a reality, form, and, for the pragmatist, indeed, are, the concrete relation of truth. Such mediating events make the idea true."⁹ "Truth is an experienced relation of characteristic quality of things and it has no meaning outside of such relation."¹⁰

The deductive way of reasoning is not to be adopted, for it adds nothing to knowledge. "The essence of any case would not be copying, but the enrichment of the previous world."¹¹ It does not stop by simply turning away from abstract thoughts to objective experience. For, as Schiller points out, "experience is experiment. i.e., active."¹² "All truths must be verified to be properly true."¹³

⁶ William James, *Pragmatism*, p. 76.

⁷ *Studies in Humanism*, p. 152.

⁸ Pratt, *What is Pragmatism?*, p. 84.

⁹ William James, *The Pragmatic Account of Truth*, Philos. Rev., XVII, p. 11.

¹⁰ John Dewey, *Experimental Theory of Knowledge*, "Mind," XV, p. 305.

¹¹ William James, *Meaning of Truth*, p. 80.

¹² *Studies in Humanism*, p. 191.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

Our beliefs are to be tested by their satisfactory workableness. The pragmatists have persistently adhered to their loyalty to the inductive and experimental method of attaining truth. James calls only those ideas true which "we can assimilate, validate, corroborate, and verify."¹⁴ Dewey goes farther and says: "From this (pragmatic) point of view verification and truth are two names for the same thing."¹⁵ There seems, however, some divergence between James and Dewey, for the latter makes actual verification essential to truth, while James thinks that verifiability is quite sufficient. "The quality of truth," says James, "obtaining *ante rem*, pragmatically means, then, the fact that in such a world innumerable ideas work better by their indirect or possible than by their direct or actual verification. Truth *ante rem* means only verifiability."¹⁶ Thus the old *a priori* method of truth-finding has been given up for the inductive and experimental method.

3. The Additive and Evolutionary aspect. One characteristic of the pragmatists is their vehement opposition to any absolute character of truth. They ridicule the idealist conception that truth is truth and it has nothing to do with time and space. Since Spencer and Darwin, many are thinking of everything in terms of evolution. Dr. Schiller has devoted one full chapter to the "Making of Truth" in his *Studies in Humanism*. An idea, or what he calls "claim," becomes true through verification. "Truth we conceive to mean everywhere not duplication but addition; not the constructing of inner copies of already complete realities, but rather the collaborating with realities so as to bring about a clearer result."¹⁷ "Truth happens to an idea. It becomes true, is made true by events."¹⁸ John Dewey, in his brilliant essay on the *Influence of Darwin on Philosophy* has clearly shown that truth is not something absolute but is constantly in the making through a process of evolution. The great interest of these philosophers in facts has led them to formulate some principle which will constantly add to our knowledge of truth. They all emphasise the observation of facts and this leads them to compare their ideas with them. Their ideas are then to be verified, and if in the process of verification they give satisfactory consequences, then these ideas are true. The truth of the pragmatists is like the

¹⁴ *Pragmatism*, p. 201.¹⁵ *Mind*, Vol. XV, p. 305.¹⁶ *Pragmatism*, p. 220.¹⁷ William James, *The Meaning of Truth*, p. 60.¹⁸ William James, p. 201.

Herbartian "real" which comes in contact with the "reals" already in mind and is admitted or repulsed according as it harmonises itself with them or not. Facts of experience have already given us some true ideas which are every moment demanding new facts to insure and enrich their property. It is, no doubt, a stimulating conception of truth which makes people gather facts to add to the knowledge of truth.

4. The Pluralistic aspect. The pragmatists' love for facts and interest in human affairs naturally encourage a pluralistic tendency in the conception of truth. It is called by James a "corridor theory" which opens up all the gates of truth and gives our ideas proper evaluation. It is not that they want to reduce all our ideas down to some irreducible one, but it is to test each idea by the facts of experience and accept, reject, or modify according as it fits in with the previous truths which we have accepted through the same process. The pragmatists' doctrine of verification and of the becoming of truth necessarily implies a pluralistic conception. That is why James says that "our account of truth is an account of truths."¹⁹ "That truth means truths," says Dewey, "that is, specific verifications, combinations of meanings and outcomes reflectively viewed, is, one may say the central point of experimental theory."²⁰ Dr. Schiller, though he says that "all truths must be verified to be properly true," has not, however, entirely thrown down "The Truth" idea. He makes recognition of both "a truths" and "The Truth" when he says: "By a truth we mean a proposition to which this attribute 'true' has somehow been attached, and which, consequently, is envisaged *sub specie veri*. The Truth is the totality of things to which this mode of treatment is applied or is applicable whether or not this extends over the whole of our experience."²¹

There are some other aspects of minor importance which may be derived directly or indirectly from the above classification. Of them, for example, "utility" or "satisfactory consequence" may be mentioned as constituting some criterion of truth. But the phases like these two are well involved in the first and the third aspect of the theory.

On the whole the pragmatic conception of truth seems to be an extremely radical view toward empiricism and humanism and looks with considerable disdain at the abstract thoughts of the idealists.

¹⁹ *Pragmatism*, p. 204.

²⁰ "The *Experimental Theory of Knowledge*," *Mind*, Vol. XV, p. 306.

²¹ *Studies in Humanism*, p. 144.

SEX AND MARRIAGE IN THE DOON DISTRICT

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THE various conditions under which man and woman come together to love, mate and produce children must be considered to be of great interest not only to the sociologist but to the average normal man, in whatever type of society we may find him. Courtship, love and mating in any society are influenced by the way the sexes face one another in public and in private as well as the economic co-operation that is demanded of them. The different forms of mating that we find in primitive or advanced society, should be studied with reference to the social *milieu* for their interpretation is only possible when we know the conditions under which the people live and the form of intercourse that is allowed to the sexes. In discussing the forms of marriage, we find that they differ from society to society and from one economic stage to another.

Monogamy is as old as human society but that it is not the only kind of marriage is sufficiently clear from the religious and sacredotal literature in all parts of the globe including the Bible. Polygyny is found in every society unless it is banned by legal enactments. But that polyandry is also a possible arrangement many of us do not know. Polyandry provides for the marriage of a woman with more than one husband just as polygyny provides for the marriage of a man with more than one woman. Polygyny is a very common institution among the lower cultures—it is found among the primitive tribes of India, Africa, Australia and New-Zealand. It is practised by the Mahomedans and till recently was a customary form of marriage among certain castes of the Hindus. With the growing individuality of women and the changed economic conditions of the day, polygyny, it appears, has a limited rôle to play in future.

Polyandry, though far more restricted than polygyny, is still being practised in various parts of the world. It is found among certain American Indians, the Eskimos and among the tribes of the Alaskan coast of North America. It is found among the South Sea Islanders, in the Malay Archipelago, and the island of Lancerot, but rarely reported

from Madagascar. It is found among the Wahuna (Bahima) of East Africa. In Tibet it was and still is the traditional practice. From Kashmir to Assam, among the mongoloid people, polyandry is commonly reported. The Todas and Kotas of the South practise this form of marriage. In Ceylon polyandry is said to have been common but was suppressed by the sixties of the last century. It was also said to have been practised in Arabia Felix, and from mythological evidence it appears that it was frequently resorted to by the Aryan-speaking peoples. Westermarck says that polyandry is generally confined to non-Aryan-Tibetan or Dravidian tribes or castes, the first a mongoloid people, and the second speaking some branch of the Dravidian family of languages.

Polyandry is usually of two kinds, one is known as matriarchal, the other fraternal. The Tibetans and other mongoloid peoples practise the fraternal type of polyandry where the husbands are related as brothers, but among the Nairs the husbands were not necessarily brothers. Among the Todas and Kotas, the husbands may not be brothers but usually members of the same clan or persons of the same generation.

From the distribution of polyandry it appears that it is not a primitive or savage institution. The Tibetans and other mongoloid people are not primitive, nor were the Nairs who till recently practised this form of mating. It has been suggested by the evolutionary sociologists that polyandry is an important phase in the development of the institution of marriage. Marriage, according to them, has evolved from a stage of promiscuity. Morgan postulated an elaborate scheme of hypothetical stages of human social progress from a supposed stage of consanguine or Malayan family based on the supposed intermarriage of brothers and sisters in a group, to Punaluan or Hawaiian family founded upon the supposed intermarriage of several brothers, own or collateral, to each other's husbands in a group; Syndasmian or pairing family founded upon the marriage of a male with a female under the form of marriage but without exclusive cohabitation, to patriachal family or the marriage of one man to several wives and finally to monogamian family founded upon marriage between single pairs. According to Morgan, therefore, no fewer than fifteen normal stages in the evolution of marriage and the family must have preceded marriage between single pairs and of the family itself in the modern sense of the term. McLennan says that polyandry must be regarded as a

modification of and an advance from promiscuity. According to these evolutionists, the matriarchal form of family organisation is prior to the patriarchal. In the matriarchal form, the mother's family designation is given to the children as the latter live with the mother and the mother's brother becomes the habitual guardian of the family. Husbands in matriarchal society are only visitors and do not wield any authority over their children. But many matriarchal societies allow the husband to live independently with his wife by setting up separate establishments within the matriarchal group and though land is passed on from mother to daughter, certain kinds of property may pass from father to son. The next step would be for the father to pass on his own name to the children, so that the children get their affiliation not to the mother and her family but to the father. The final stage is reached when land is also passed from father to son with provisions, perhaps, for the maintenance of the daughters. Thus patriarchal society may grow out of the matriarchate through a long process of transition in which the different features of the patriarchal society are gradually acquired and handed on to the children. To-day most of the advanced societies are patriarchal no doubt, but a large number may be called maternal-paternal, for the features of both the types of family organisation are found in them.

In the matriarchal stage of family organisation paternity is doubtful and not important either. As the children get the affiliation of the mother, as property passes from mother to daughter, as woman lives in her own house, it does not matter if the father is not known.

In the Nair form of polyandry, which is usually known as of the matriarchal type, a woman may have a number of husbands who may or may not be related. So long as a woman lives with one of her husbands, the other husband or husbands cannot have any marital rights over the wife. In the Toda and Kota form of polyandry, the husbands are brothers or clan mates, so also among the Tibetans and other Mongoloid people who practise polyandry. Amongst the Tibetans several brothers share one wife and the wife comes to live with the husbands. If, therefore, paternity is not certain among the Nairs or among those who follow the matriarchal type of polyandry, the line of paternity at least is certain amongst those who practise the fraternal variety, though the actual father is not known. Besides, biological fatherhood is one, sociological fatherhood is another. That is how all

polyandrous societies possess some conventional method of ascertaining fatherhood.

It is at best doubtful if matriarchate is prior to patriarchate and societies which are matriarchal are not primitive either. Even the lowliest of tribes are patriarchal and we cannot postulate any such scheme of social development. Polyandry also is not practised by all primitive groups as we have already noticed, it is absent among many savage tribes. It appears among peoples who have flocks and herds or who practise agriculture and who cannot be described as primitive. Besides, monogamy is found present among the most savage of the tribes and it is doubtful if monogamy has evolved in the way it has been suggested by the evolutionists.

The origin of the institution of polyandry should be explained with reference to the social background in which it flourishes. I propose to describe below the relevant facts relating to this institution among an Aryan-speaking people living in Jaunsar Babar which will throw light on the origin of this institution

Perganna Jaunsar Babar is included in the Chakrata sub-division of the Doon district. It is inhabited by Rajputs whose occupation of the present domicile dates back to comparatively recent times. These people are usually tall, handsome, fair complexioned, possess long head, vertical forehead, fine or leptorrhine nose, hazel eyes with a sprinkling of blue, curly hair and other features well cut and proportioned. The women are also comparatively tall, slender and graceful and possess very attractive appearance and extremely jovial disposition. From all points of view they appear to belong to the Indo-Aryan stock and have, it appears, maintained their purity to a considerable extent. The mongoloid people in the neighbourhood—the Gharwalis and other hill people—have not influenced their physical features to any great extent. They are conscious of their superior lineage for they affiliate themselves to the Pandavas of Mahabharata fame and are indeed proud of their polyandrous custom, as they say, it was the usual practice among their progenitors, the Pandavas.

Their houses are made of substantial timber in picturesque surroundings with the small terraced fields in front, so that the greenness of their fields lends unusual charm and colour to their villages. The villages are situated in valleys or on slopes of hills but never on top of hills. Winter is usually severe on the hill tops

and sometimes continual snowfall and cold blasts make living on the higher altitudes difficult and dangerous to the extreme. They are very fond of the sun and take advantage of it as best as they can. The houses are built in such a way that they may get the maximum period of sunlight. The villages are built by the side of hill springs. The small terraces available for cultivation are intensively cultivated so that skilful manuring and irrigation are features of farming in these regions. Water for irrigation is usually brought to the terraces from rivulets through small Kuls or channels skilfully cut on the rocks. The houses are grouped together but each stands on its own grounds though they are very close to one another. Timber and stone supply the building material for these houses and iron is seldom used. Each house has three to four storeys but each storey is about 6 ft. or so high, just enough to allow a man to stand erect. Usually one whole storey is used by a family as bed room, it is a long one without any partition and all the members of the family sleep at night in this room, in order, as they say, to keep the room warm enough. Considering the cold climate of the country and the danger of keeping fire burning in the timber houses, the explanation does not seem very unlikely.

Life is not very easy in these cold regions. The small terraces have to be carefully worked, the yield is not always as expected, nor is it sufficient for the needs of the family. Cattle and sheep have to be kept ; grazing cattle and sheep on the slopes of hills and in higher altitudes keeps the men busy during the major part of the day ; carrying dungs and manures from the grazing areas to the terraced fields needs exacting labour ; shearing of wool, spinning and weaving have to be done by themselves ; marketing of produce and barter and exchange transactions require co-operative efforts, while ceremonial undertakings and festivals require joint efforts and voluntary subscriptions to the common pool. Thus life in Jaunsar Babar is full of hardships though there are occasional thrills to make it worth living for.

Jaunsar Babar people live in joint family. A group of brothers live together with one, two or more wives under the same roof, the brothers sharing the wives in common, without any exclusive right of any brother to cohabit with any one wife. The children are maintained by the family and there is a conventional way of ascertaining fatherhood among them. The eldest born child is fathered upon

the eldest brother, and the next child on the second, and so on. If four brothers have two or perhaps one wife between them and four or five children are born, and one of the younger brothers marries again, the children remain with the woman and the latter cannot go to the younger brothers but must live with the elder, but children are entitled to equal shares from the four brothers which are paid to the elder. If they separate, the elder brother bears the expenses of their marriage.

Customary laws of inheritance make the eldest brother receive the lion's share of the property in case of partition. According to the laws of inheritance in force, property is divided in the following way: After deducting one thing of each kind and one field for *Pitans*, viz., on account of seniority, and half of that field, viz., *Kanchoo*, for the youngest, all the rest are divided equally among them. The family house in Jaunsar Babar belongs to the eldest brother, the garden belongs to him, the crops are his, the cattle and sheep are owned by him and the wife and children, and their maintenance and control are his. He is the governor of the family and his brothers accept his rule and authority without grumble. Cases have been found when a younger brother has rebelled against this social and economic monopoly, has forced the elder brother to a partition of the family property or to the granting of exclusive right of cohabitation with a particular wife, but inasmuch as he has gained in his individuality, he has lost in prestige in the society and very often his wife has deserted him afterwards. It may sound strange to a capitalist society, but it is a fact that if a man happens to be the only son of his parents, he stands little chance of securing or keeping a wife, for a wife would not care to live with one man as she would have to do much work for the family. He must, therefore, find out his cousins or collaterals before he decides to marry and settle down.

The phenomenal poverty of the people and difficulty of leading independent existence in these cold regions, make partition of property extremely uneconomic. Co-operation between villagers and members who constitute the family group is indispensable not only for maintenance but also for protection against organised theft and robbery. Big families, on the other hand, are most conducive to securing a living than small ones. On one occasion I asked a group of Jaunsaris, why they still prefer to continue their polyandrous practices when their neighbours, the Gharwalis, have abandoned them. I was told that they did not envy the Gharwalis. The latter left their homes

due to the disintegration of joint family. Previously land in Gharwal was measured in acres, then by roods, then by poles, then by yards and feet, till they all left their village and are to-day distributed all over the country as domestic servants. The Jaunsar Babaria loves his home and does not want to repeat the experience of his neighbours.

We have already said that polyandry in Jaunsar Babar is of the fraternal type. Thus in the village Jadi which we investigated, we found that the number of married males was four times that of married females. Granting that some of the married females have gone to live with their parents, the proportion of married males to married females may be taken to be 3:1. This disparity in the distribution of the sexes does not by itself explain the prevailing type of marriage, viz., polyandry, for such a sex ratio in other parts of the world has led to celibacy, to prostitution or to homo-sexual practices as well as polyandry. Westermarck has shown that there is no absolute correlation between paucity of women and polyandry. There must be other causes besides.

A few cases of polyandrous marriages may be of interest in this connection. Hariram, *Sadar Seana* (Headman of a group of villages) of village Jadi, has four brothers, the youngest of whom, Nain Singh, is about 35 years of age. He with his brothers owns 9 acres, 3 rood and 5 poles of land, 14 cattle and 88 sheep and pays Rs. 8 as *Malguzari*. He is, therefore, quite substantial and the richest in the village. Hariram married Gonga and paid Rs. 60 as bride-price. She proved to be barren and after 4 years she was divorced and Hariram got back Rs. 20 from her next husband. He married Jimuti the second time and paid Rs. 20 as bride-price. Jimuti was found to be suffering from sexual diseases and was divorced without demand of any part of the dowry back. He married Ashadi next and paid Rs. 50, the latter was a divorced woman but after a couple of years she died without leaving any issue. The fourth marriage was with Pirudi for whom he paid Rs. 12. Pirudi is living in the family and has produced three children. The fifth time he married Bipu who has one son, Cheturam. The last marriage was with Pusuli for whom Hariram had to pay Rs. 120 as dowry. She was divorced thrice before she was married by Hariram and does not possess any issue. Thus Hariram has married six wives in succession and between 4 brothers they have 4 sons.

Narayan, son of Hariram (for he is the eldest of the sons, and

thus was fathered upon Hariram, the eldest brother), lives with his brothers and has similarly married 3 wives. For the eldest wife, Nagu, he paid Rs. 12, but Nagu died without any issue. His second wife was Bardai, who also was paid Rs. 12 as bride-price. She produced two daughters and was divorced. The third wife, Chankeri, was paid a dowry of Rs. 120 as she was married after her second divorce. She has two sons living. Narayan's eldest daughter, Pusu, was first married to Jowar Singh, who paid Re. 1 as bride-price, but Pusu was divorced and the second husband had to pay Rs. 240 to Jowar Singh as dowry.

Madan Singh has two more brothers, Narayan and Ajmeru. He with his brothers possesses 4 acres, 1 rood and 30 poles, 8 cows and 44 sheep and pay a *Malguzari* of Rs. 5-14. Madan paid Rs. 2 as bride-price and married Bardoi and has 4 issues by her. For the next wife he paid Rs. 12, but after two years he divorced her and realised Rs. 60 from the next husband. The third wife, Asuji, had to be paid Rs. 12, but she also was divorced after a year and fetched Rs. 100. The fourth wife of Madan, Jamni, for whom he paid Rs. 12, has not had any issue yet. Thus in this family 3 brothers have married 4 wives and have 4 children between them.

Amar Singh with his 4 brothers has married three wives. For the first wife, Injali, he has paid Rs. 50, as she was divorced before. After a year she was again divorced by Amar Singh and the latter received back only Rs. 8. Next he married Jhani and paid Rs. 10 as dowry. She also was divorced after a couple of years and he realised Rs. 8 from her second husband. The third wife is Ratu who is living with the brothers and for whom he had paid Rs. 50. They have a son by the present wife, named Mansingh. Amar Singh with his brothers owns 2 acres, 1 rood and 26 poles of land, 10 cattle and 36 sheep and he pays a high *Malguzari* too. Thus in this family 3 brothers have one son.

Instances like these can be multiplied to show the rate of bride-price, the frequency of divorce, the number of wives per family and the number of children per family. It appears from our investigations in Jaunsar Babar that, usually, the number of marriages is no indication of the plurality of wives, for seldom a family has more than two wives simultaneously living together with the group of brothers as husbands, the marriages are usually in succession. The divorce of a wife is followed by another marriage. It is a further fact that the number of children in a polyandrous society is very low, for 4 to 5 brothers between them possess 3 to 4 children and sometimes less. Besides, there is a

preponderance of male children. If the ratio of males to females in this area is so high, then the preponderance of male children is sure to aggravate the situation. Another important fact that one gathers from these investigations is the number of barren women. Usually the husband waits 2 to 3 years to see if the wife produces any child ; if she fails, she feels that she is not much wanted in the family and thus she seeks a new home. If she is not wanted in the house, if she is lazy or suffers from sexual disease which is a frequent complaint in these parts, or if she is guilty of some grave social crime, such as her unwillingness to cohabit with the eldest brother so long as he remains in the house, she is divorced and the next husband of the woman has not to pay any big dowry either. But if she wants to leave her husband herself and if she does not suffer from any disease or has already proved her fertility, the husband usually demands an exorbitant price from her fiancée and this amount must be paid by the latter if she is to marry him. In such a case, the larger the number of divorces a woman goes through, the higher the bride-price she fetches, for the bride-price must provide for compensation to the previous husband and his family.

It is easy to marry a girl of 13 to 14 and sometimes one need not pay any but a nominal bride-price, but a woman who has been divorced twice or thrice, fetches a handsome price. A woman of 45 in Bangar village with 4 divorces to her credit, was married by her fifth husband on payment of Rs. 285, which may sound ridiculous when a girl of 15 or 20 can be married on payment of 20 to 30 rupees. Investigations have shown that this woman has given one or two issues to every family she was married to, and as children are very much desired by the people, a woman who has proved her fertility is at a premium. Considering the number of barren women, a woman who produces a child in one family, is desired by other families, so that she chooses to change her husbands whenever opportunities present themselves. Besides, with four to five husbands to cater for, her attentions may not be fixed on any ; thus her change of family does not produce any great psychological reaction which one would normally expect in a monogamian family. There are other reasons too. In Jaunsar Babar a woman has two standards of morality to conform to—one in her parents' house, one in her husbands'. In her parents' house, she is allowed every kind of license. It is possible to believe that when guests come to a family in Jaunsar Babar, hospitality allows that grown-up daughters of the family, married or unmarried, should cater

to the comforts of visitors in every conceivable and inconceivable manner. But a married girl in her husbands' house must behave, must be faithful, and strict vigilance is kept on her movements by the family group as well as by the village. It is during ceremonies and festive occasions that custom allows the wife to go back to her parents' house and take advantage of the other standard of morality.

We know that the larger the number of social contexts into which an institution fits in, the greater the number of interests it fulfils. *The longevity of an institution or a trait depends, therefore, on the number of interests it stimulates.* The institution of polyandry has survived in Jannsar Babar as it still fulfils a variety of purposes. The origin of an institution may be due to one or many causes. Polyandry, we know, may be the consequence of a disturbed balance of the sexes ; for example, where there is an excess of male population, polyandry may result but by no means always does. Economic conditions engender social habits. Property considerations among the Tibetans, Todas and other groups are perhaps responsible for polyandry. The custom of hypergamy under pre-control conditions leads to destruction of female children and a consequent shortage of females may result in polyandry. In Jaunsar Babar, polyandry appears to be a borrowed institution. We have already distinguished Jaunsaris from the mongoloid people in the neighbourhood. They represent an Indo-Aryan stock which through many vicissitudes of fortune, has come and settled in these parts. As it happens with all invading people, they were at first scantily supplied with women and for a time before they could breed enough women to form a *jus connubi*, they perhaps took to indigenous women who belonged to mongoloid stock. But the sex ratio among their neighbours in their present domicile did not favour a large-scale miscegenation. Whether nomadism leads to a reduced incidence of female births or not, the Doon district where these people live has always recorded a lower ratio of females to males. The mongoloid people of the area, even before the Jaunsaris arrived on the scene, were polyandrous. Even to-day in Jaunsar Babar, there is an excess of male to female population and unless the balance of the sexes is restored, polyandry will remain for long as the popular form of marital relationship. But if Jaunsaris have borrowed this institution from their neighbours, they have given a mythological interpretation to disarm all objections against the practice. For even to-day the Jaunsaris defend polyandry on the ground that their progenitors, the Pandavas of epic fame, practised this institution and that they are proud of it.

PROHIBITION IN MADRAS

DR. H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.

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SOMETIME about the middle of last year, I received by post a pamphlet on Prohibition, the writer of which after pointing out in detail the difficulties which stand in the way of introducing this measure in our motherland, insinuates that Prohibition as introduced by the Congress Government of Madras is a failure. The orders of the Madras Government are that palm trees may be tapped if the vessels used in collecting the juice are coated inside with an amount of lime sufficient to prevent fermentation. The writer's view is that this rule is being broken extensively with the result that toddy is used as widely as before and further that the officers of the Prohibition Department are condoning this systematic defiance of Government orders.

I must confess that as an ardent Prohibitionist, I was greatly discouraged when I read this pamphlet. It had emanated from what I considered a responsible quarter and I was shocked at what at the first sight appeared to be downright dishonesty on the part of the Madras Government controlled by a set of people for whom I had hitherto entertained nothing but the greatest admiration and the highest respect. I, however, determined to reserve my judgment till I had ascertained by personal enquiries how far the charges brought against the Madras Government were true. My opportunity came when I was invited to preside at the All-India Conference of Indian Christians which met at Madras on the last two days of the year which has just come to an end.

During the two nights and one day taken up by the journey from Calcutta to Madras, I had the opportunity of coming into contact with at least half a dozen highly educated gentlemen of South India—Natives of Andhra Desa, Tamil Nad, Kerala, Travancore and Cochin. I inquired of all of them what they thought about the success of Prohibition in Madras. All of them were unanimous in stating that the experiment had proved an unqualified success.

I was not, however, content with what I had heard from my fellow travellers and immediately after my arrival at Madras, I established contact with a number of educated, cultured and economically prosperous Indian Christians who also gave me glowing accounts of the beneficial effects of the introduction of Prohibition. After our Conference had finished its sittings, I enjoyed exceptional opportunities of coming into social contact with my Hindu brethren, both Brahmin and Non-Brahmin, as also some Muslim gentlemen occupying very high positions. These too were equally enthusiastic in their praise of the action of the Congress Cabinet. It is a matter of common knowledge that there are differences of opinion on certain matters between the Brahmins and the Non-Brahmins in South India. I was gratified to find that whatever their differences in other directions in this one matter there was absolute unanimity.

My next step was to test the accuracy of the reports I had received by trying to ascertain the true facts from people who had actually taken part in the campaign and who were still interested in the work. I had in my audience in the various addresses delivered at Madras during my stay there, Intermediate, Degree and Post-Graduate students. In the College of Physical Education, I found students belonging not only to the Madras Presidency but also others hailing from such widely separated and distant parts of India as Punjab, U.P., Bihar, Bengal, Assam, Bombay and the Central Provinces. Some of these students who had taken an active part in making the campaign against toddy such a success spoke very highly of the efficient organization created through the energy and the public spirit of the Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopalachariar, the Premier of Madras, and the Hon'ble Mr. V. I. Munuswami Pillai, the Minister in charge of Excise. Some of the students I met have their homes in Salem or in adjoining districts. The evidence of all classes of students led me to the conclusion that the experiment at Prohibition has been eminently successful. The evidence of two students who had taken part in the enquiry made by Dr. P. J. Thomas, Head of the Department of Economics, Madras University, was very valuable as they had tried to assess from a scientific point of view the effects of Prohibition on the economic condition of ex-drinkers in Salem district.

It took me nearly a fortnight to gather my data and other relevant facts which I shall now place before my readers so that they may be

in a position to understand the technique evolved, the propaganda methods followed and the moral and economic results achieved by this notable experiment in the social organisation of such a large area as the district of Salem.

PROHIBITION IN SALEM—ITS DIFFICULTIES

Of all the provinces in India, the Madras Presidency in years previous to the introduction of Prohibition, enjoyed the unenviable reputation of deriving the highest percentage of its revenues from Excise. This amounted to as much as 27.1 per cent of the total provincial revenues in 1934-35. Then, again, among all her districts the district of Salem was notorious for its drunkenness. When the Congress came into power, the Hon'ble Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, who had lived in this district over a quarter of a century, selected it for this noteworthy experiment. In the course of an interview he granted to me, he explained that this was the reason which had impelled him to select Salem. His contention is that if he can demonstrate to the world that it is possible to introduce Prohibition in a place like Salem where every village, hamlet and hut has its own cluster of palm trees which may be tapped easily for toddy without much fear of detection, then it would be easier still to introduce Prohibition in other parts of India where the conditions for success are more favourable.

The district of Salem has an area of about 7,100 square miles, it contains more than 1,800 villages and thousands of hamlets, the population numbers more than 2½ million souls of whom nearly 7½ lakhs were in the habit of using excise articles mainly in the form of toddy. Enquiries made at that time revealed that the expenditure on drink before the introduction of Prohibition ranged from 24 to 32 per cent of the total earnings of the addicts. Some of them spent as much as 50 to 70 per cent of their earnings on drink as against 15 per cent in Britain. These figures alone are sufficient to prove what a boon Prohibition has been to the people of this district as also how difficult its introduction in an area where palm trees are to be found in their lakhs. It has further to be stated that the excise revenue derived from this district only was a little over Rs. 13 lakhs per year all of which had to be sacrificed with the introduction of Prohibition.

One of the first conditions of success in any undertaking of this type is the possession of self-confidence, the ability to foresee the difficulties to be faced and the capacity to call into existence an organisation adapted to cope with these difficulties. The Madras Congress Cabinet set itself to the task of solving this problem. I propose to show how it was solved.

TECHNIQUE OF PROHIBITION

According to my information, the Madras Government was able to make such a success of its Prohibition campaign mainly because it had succeeded in carrying the people along with it. The business of detecting violation of the excise laws is no longer confined to the Excise Department only. A special Prohibition staff has, of course, been employed but their work is supplemented by the ordinary police, village officials and Taluq, that is, Sub-Division and even Village Prohibition Committees. In addition to these measures for the prevention of offences against the excise laws, propaganda is carried on through Prohibition Committees and other similar non-official organisations.

As ex-drinkers on account of the absence of stimulants to the use of which they had been accustomed for years, find the evening hours very depressing, the Madras Government has popularised various devices to brighten village life. Many kinds of amusements such as bhajans, street dramas, songs, dialogues and rural sports and games have been organised. Great emphasis has been laid on the last of these as they provide an interesting spectacle for ex-drinkers and benefit the younger generation by implanting in them early in life an appreciation of the value of physical fitness, of the team spirit and of the pleasure and profit derivable from healthy sports.

I was privileged to deliver addresses on two separate occasions to the students of the Y.M.C.A. College of Physical Education, Saidapet, Madras. I was also the guest at one of the lectures of Mr. N. K. Mia, who is an Indian Christian like myself. I met the members of the staff as well as the students and thus enjoyed exceptional opportunities to make enquiries about the work done by the staff and students of this institution in the campaign for Prohibition. Soon after Prohibition had been introduced, Mr. H. C. Buck who has been Principal of this institution for the last twenty years

or so and the Vice-Principal Mr. P. M. Joseph, made an offer to the Premier to send out trained instructors from their college as volunteers during the vacation to hold instructional classes in rural sports and games in the interior of the district. This offer was immediately accepted by Sj. Rajagopalachariar. With Government sanction and financial assistance, a Summer School was held in May last at Rasipuram, an important centre in Salem district, where 60 students from adjacent villages were trained in indigenous rural games as well as in some inexpensive western games. I was informed by one of the student-volunteers that these youths were either Local Board teachers, co-operative workers or members of physical culture associations. The Summer School lasted for one month and it appears that after their return home, these young men have introduced the games they learnt in their own villages. During the period of training, classes were also held at some of the villages situated close to Rasipuram with the result that their inhabitants were fired with enthusiasm for physical training

Such was the success achieved at the Rasipuram centre that the Madras Government sanctioned the opening of four other similar schools in different parts of the district and made a grant of Rs. 3,320 in order to meet the necessary expenditure. Altogether about 250 students have been trained so far and as they come from widely scattered centres, it is expected that in time the gospel of physical fitness will be preached and taught all through Salem district.

It must, however, be stated that though emphasis is laid principally on the teaching of sports and games the curriculum of these schools also provides instruction in village uplift work. Every day two hours' instruction is imparted on subjects like co-operation, agriculture, cattle-rearing, bee-keeping, etc. After the Summer School, a rural exhibition was held at Rasipuram where there was a special section for products of village industries such as pottery, carpets, hand-woven fabrics, etc. The next rural exhibition was held at the second centre Dharampuri. This was organised on a more ambitious scale and drew very large crowds. I was informed that in this exhibition, there was a special women's section which attracted a good deal of attention and interest.

The co-operative societies have also joined in the campaign. They distribute *hundi* boxes which are opened once a month when the collections are credited to the respective accounts. This day called

the " Thrift Day " has gradually grown into something like an institution. One of the usual entertainments provided on thrift days consists of rural sports and games in which the local boys take part. Announcement of the thrift day is made in advance. Depositors bring their *hundi* boxes to the office-bearers for collecting the savings. Games follow after this business has been finished. In this way pleasure and thrift are combined.

Physical Culture Associations have existed for years in all the towns of Salem district. Since the introduction of Prohibition, the members have been visiting the villages and giving displays. These not only provide entertainment for the ex-drinkers but also encourage village youths to develop strong and healthy bodies.

CONDITION OF TODDY TAPPERS

From figures supplied by the Excise Department, it appears that there were about 9,000 toddy tappers in the district of Salem at the time Prohibition was introduced. The Madras Government felt that unless some steps were taken to find some kind of employment for these people some of them might be tempted to continue toddy tapping and would thus frustrate, at least partly, the campaign against drink. A Special Development Officer was appointed to start co-operative societies for sweet, that is unfermented and therefore non-alcoholic, toddy. The members were trained to manufacture jaggery, that is, molasses out of the sweet juice. By the end of December, 1937, that is after 3 months' hard work, these co-operative societies sold about 20,000 lbs. of jaggery at the approximate price of Rs. 1,000. I was informed that nearly 85 per cent of the old toddy tappers are now members of the 60 odd co-operative societies.

At the Congress Exhibition held recently at Madras, I saw specimens of jaggery varying in colour from dark to very light brown manufactured from both palm and cocoanut juice. I also found that sugar candy manufactured from the sweet juice of palm trees was being sold extensively in the local market and also sent to other parts of India. Fairly successful experiments conducted by the Madras Industries Department have proved that the manufacture of jaggery from cocoanut juice can be undertaken profitably provided its price does not fall to a considerable extent. As unlike palm trees which can be tapped for juice during certain months of the year only, cocoanut trees can be

tapped all the year round, these experiments have opened the way to the introduction of a new cottage industry which is likely to yield a steady though small income to the tappers. I was also informed that the Industries Department is approaching large consumers of jaggery and sugar such as confectioners, manufacturers of lozenges, etc. so that they may meet part of their requirements from the co-operative societies formed for the production and sale of these articles. So far as the tappers who have not joined the sweet toddy co-operative societies are concerned, my information is that some have left the district, others who possess land are devoting their whole time and energy to cultivation, while some who are landless are working as coolies.

It thus follows that Prohibition as introduced by the Madras Government has not only put an end to drunkenness but is also responsible for the initiation of a new cottage industry which will give continuous employment to thousands of poor people. The authorities are of opinion that the former tappers who were in the habit of consuming large amounts of toddy will not suffer economically if they take to sweet toddy tapping. Any loss in their total income will be more than made good by abstinence from their old drinking habits.

EFFECTS OF PROHIBITION

The implementing of Prohibition in Salem district is in the hands of the Collector, Mr. A. F. W. Dixon, I. C. S. It cannot be said that, at the beginning, he was very much in favour of this measure. He has submitted from time to time official reports on the working of the Prohibition Act in the district. I shall commence by very briefly referring to the results obtained after three months' experiment lasting from October to December, 1937.

With regard to the change in the condition of home life Mr. Dixon said, "All information received goes to show the beneficial effects of the Act on the home life of drinkers. Domestic quarrels of the more violent sort have practically ceased and the condition of the women and children has markedly improved; there are a good many cases reported of heavy drinkers who have lost their old cravings, whose health and general condition have greatly improved." So far as the economic condition of the people is concerned, he has observed, "improvement in the standard of life is most marked in regard to the quantity of food consumed. Drinkers and their families now get

generally a good evening meal, whereas formerly they often went without anything to eat." In the matter of its effect on industrial labour, Mr. Dixon quotes the Managing Director of the Rajendra Spinning Mills, Limited, Salem, who said, " Most of the workers had been very irregular in their attendance whereas one month after Prohibition had been enforced, the attendance became regular. Before Prohibition quarrels were frequent in the nights and the Managing Director never got an undisturbed night's rest. He had frequently to get up and pacify the fighting labourers. These quarrels have now ceased and they are leading a better life ; production has increased and expenditure decreased. Prohibition is particularly beneficial to the women in the mills. They were sickly, dirty and clad in rags. Now every woman has two or three *saris*, most of them petticoats and 50 per cent of them wash daily. Their financial position has also improved. They have redeemed their jewels which they mortgaged due to extravagance. Children are better clad and cleaner. Dwelling houses have improved, and lights have been introduced into houses which were formerly unlit." The Collector sums up his impression of this great social experiment in the following terms " Viewing generally the effect of Prohibition on the lives of the people, I am convinced, after three months' experience, that Prohibition is proving a great boon to the poorer classes in this district. Leading as they do a hand-to-mouth existence, they simply cannot afford the expensive luxury of drink, which used to reduce the small earnings of the labouring classes to a miserable pittance, quite insufficient for the proper maintenance of a family. Drink brought misery in the shape of domestic unhappiness, insufficiency of food, and crushing debt. Already in thousands of homes in the district conditions have changed to a remarkable extent. Domestic brawls have ceased, a sufficiency of food is available, and the grip of the money-lender has relaxed."

I shall next refer to the report submitted by the Collector of Salem on the working of the Prohibition Act in his district in the nine months between October, 1937 and June, 1938. The first noticeable feature in this report is the tribute paid to non-officials for their co-operation. In this connection he observed " Special efforts were made to secure the co-operation of non-officials and the task of the police has been rendered much easier by the widespread co-operation and assistance rendered by them." After referring to the providing of amusements and counter-attractions such as sports and games,

bhajan parties and radios for the ex-addicts Mr. Dixon continues, "The most noticeable effects of Prohibition on the lives of the people are the absence of street brawls and family squabbles, improvement in the food-supply, particularly at the evening meal, increased care for cleanliness and the childrens' welfare, reduction in indebtedness and generally a more hopeful outlook." He concludes his report in the following terms: "Prohibition has now almost become a normal feature of district administration. The memory of drink except close to the borders, is fading and even the insatiable addict is beginning to find the journey across the border for an occasional carouse an expensive and unsatisfactory affair. The villagers have by now become quite accustomed to the new order of things. Considering the population of the district and the number of former drinkers, it is safe to say that the number of persons who now consume illicit liquor in this district is negligible. Illicit drugs are still coming in, but there are reasonable prospects of considerably reducing smuggling in the future."

Mr. Dixon's last words are worth quoting as they unmistakably show the amount of success achieved within the nine months referred to above. He says "The success of the Prohibition campaign has indeed exceeded the expectations of even some of the most astute opponents of the movement. Meanwhile, no relaxation of preventive action or slackening of control can be permitted. As yet I see no reason to anticipate that permanent success will not reward the efforts of those official and non-official Prohibition workers many of whom have laboured hard to make the movement a success."

FINDINGS OF MR. C. JAGANNATHA CHARI

Mr. C. Jagannatha Chari, of the Department of Economics, Annamalai University, was specially deputed to study and report on the working of the Prohibition Act in Salem. From evidence he gathered at Salem he infers that though the average man is not a wilful addict to drink, he slowly drifts into the habit. According to him, Prohibition has undoubtedly improved the moral, social and economic life of the 7 lakh ex-addicts in Salem. He defends the Madras Government in the following terms: "The common opposition to Prohibition is based on the plea that it reduces the Government's income and makes fresh taxation inevitable. The loss of excise revenue amounted to Rs. 13

lakhs. A similar sum was required for introducing Prohibition, but, when it is emphasised that India is almost entirely an agricultural country, a third of whose population consists of a landless class addicted to drink, the acuteness of this drink evil is surely to be better realised and the boon its abolition confers is bound to be appreciated."

FINDINGS OF DR. P. J. THOMAS

A survey of the economic results of Prohibition in Salem district was undertaken by Dr. P. J. Thomas, Professor of Economics, University of Madras, at the request of the Madras Government. A prominent member of the Cabinet told me that this step had been taken in order that the enquiry might be conducted by an expert on strictly scientific lines and also because it was felt that the findings were bound to be dependable and would be received with greater respect if they emanated from an unofficial source above any suspicion of bias. I understand that Dr. Thomas was assisted by a number of his research scholars. His report was published in Madras about the third week of December. I shall content myself with quoting only one sentence from it in which reference is made to improvement in family life in the following terms: "The social and moral effects of Prohibition have been remarkable; in particular the position of women and children among the working classes has substantially improved."

At the annual sessions of the Indian Statistical Conference which met at Lahore early in January, this year, Dr. Thomas dealt with the economic results of Prohibition at Salem in detail. Referring to the change in the normal diet of ex-addicts he said: "There have been significant changes in the patterns of consumption. Under food, the most striking increase has been in tea. Among certain classes the use of milk, curds and ghee has also increased. Among others, meat and fish are now more in demand. The consumption of cereals has not increased very much; among factory labourers, cereals now account for a smaller proportion of the total expenditure on food than formerly." So far as improvement in domestic utensils, household furniture, etc., is concerned, Dr. Thomas observed: "Among other noteworthy changes are the replacement of earthenware pots by brassware, use of cots and quilts and a large increase in the cinema habit. A most encouraging item is the purchase of books by urban labourers." The last sentence I shall quote gives an admirable

summary of the whole situation. He says: "Most of the money formerly used for drink has been diverted to the purchase of food, clothing, and other consumable goods. Among workers in certain organised trades, nearly 50 per cent of the amount went to food, 8 to 10 per cent to clothing and 6 per cent to amusements. Between 22 to 24 per cent went for the purchase of brassware and ornaments and for repayment of debt."

EXTENSION OF PROHIBITION

I understand that as a result of the introduction of Prohibition at Salem, the Madras Government has incurred a reduction in its revenue to the extent of about 26 lakhs about 50 per cent of which represents the excise revenue sacrificed and the other 50 per cent the expenses for maintaining Preventive staff, Development officers, etc. This loss of revenue had no effect in checking the extension of prohibition in the presidency. Prohibition had been introduced in Salem on the 1st October, 1937. Just one year after, it was introduced in the districts of Cuddapah and Chittoor. The campaign was opened at Cuddapah on the 1st October, 1938, by Sriji Rajagopalachariar. One of my most valued new friends I made at Madras who, by the way, is a non-Brahmin, has supplied me with a copy of the speech made by the Premier on that day from which I am tempted to quote just one sentence. "To-day is the 70th birthday of Mr. Gandhi. We are celebrating his birthday in Cuddapah and Chittoor, by closing arrack and toddy shops. This is the best way of celebrating his birthday. Last year we sent him birthday greetings by closing down toddy and arrack shops in Salem district. This year we are sending him greetings telling him that Cuddapah and Chittoor districts have gone dry. Many more birthdays of Mr. Gandhi may be celebrated in this manner and may he live to see the last district in our presidency go dry."

PROHIBITION IN CHITTOOR DISTRICT

In his report on the first month's working of the Prohibition Act in his district the Collector, Khan Bahadur Javada Hussain, stated as follows: "The vast majority of the people hail Prohibition as a real boon. Even the few addicts who find themselves deprived of drink within easy reach will, no doubt, consider this a blessing as

the craving wears off. Women specially welcome Prohibition," he concluded by saying that Prohibition in his district was definitely succeeding.

Early in January, 1939, the Prohibition officer in charge of Chitoor district stated that prohibition had already proved an unqualified success. At present grave famine conditions are prevailing in the district of Chitoor. This is why in spite of the introduction of Prohibition, no definite economic improvement is noticeable in the homes of the labourers and peasants. It was also pointed out to me that in spite of the prevailing scarcity, its ordinary evil consequences such as thefts and burglary are totally absent in this district. What little savings are effected by Prohibition are being used for meeting household expenditure.

Government is arranging to open rural uplift training classes in important centres of the district such as Madanapalle, Palmaner, Chandragiri and Chitoor and it is expected that the workers trained there will be able to make Prohibition still more popular and successful.

PROHIBITION IN CUDDAPAH DISTRICT

The Collector of this district, Mr. V. S. Hejmadi, I.C.S., is also of opinion that Prohibition has become a success. The fullest possible co-operation is being obtained from non-officials. The villagers have helped Government in introducing Prohibition in their district. Prohibition Committees in different villages have been brought into existence and various counter-attractions have been organised. These consist of reading news from Telegu newspaper by people residing in the villages every evening, holding sports in the evenings and having bhajan parties at night.

The problem of providing some remunerative occupation for tappers, who are driven out of employment in this district is not a very difficult one. Most of them are agriculturists with some kind of handicraft to fall back upon. There are very few who are landless and these again can easily be provided with land if they apply to Government for this special privilege.

POPULARITY OF PROHIBITION

Prohibition has come to stay at least in the Madras Presidency. Just before I left for Calcutta, I was informed that the Municipal

Council of Mangalore at its meeting held on the 9th January, 1939, had passed a resolution requesting the Madras Government to prohibit the sale of toddy on Saturdays and of arrack, that is, country spirits made from rice, on Saturdays and Sundays in order to restrict the drinking of alcoholic beverages. With this end in view, it recommended that shops selling toddy and arrack situated within the municipal area and within a radius of three miles of the Municipality should be closed by Government order on these two days every week.

My information is that this is a repercussion of the step taken by the Bombay Congress ministry which has promulgated similar orders for the benefit of the industrial labour of the city and island of Bombay. As a result of this step, the consumption of country spirit has been reduced in these areas in Bombay to the extent of nearly 70 per cent. It is the experience of the Bombay Government that it is on pay day and the day after that the largest amounts are spent in such an unproductive or rather positively injurious way. If the temptation to spend money in this undesirable way is removed by closing the shops on Saturdays and Sundays, the poor and ignorant people are left free to spend it in clearing the dues of their grocers and in buying the necessities of life.

Then again, the request to the Madras Government is on a line with the action taken by the Municipality of the small town of Kasur situated at a distance of about 35 miles from Lahore. It appears that under the provisions of the Punjab Local Option Act, any Municipal Committee can enforce Prohibition within its own area by passing a resolution to that effect provided that two-thirds of the municipal voters support the resolution at a referendum. The total number of municipal voters of Kasur last year was 12,784. On the 31st March, 1937, this matter was put to the test when 8,818 participated in the voting of whom 8,816 were in favour of introducing prohibition and only 2 against.

These two instances taken from such widely separated places as Mangalore in South and Kasur in North India have been referred to merely to prove that if the people are left to decide the matter themselves and if the choice is left to the country at large, there is little doubt that we would have Prohibition. What is now required for the success of the campaign against drink and drugs is that no pressure in any form should come from outside, that in this very

important matter so vital to our spiritual, moral, intellectual and economic improvement, we should be absolutely left to ourselves, to decide whether we should have Prohibition or not and if the country demands it, the different provincial governments which as popular governments are supposed to be the servants of the people, should implement their orders or, if that word is unpalatable, the desires of the people. Consideration of the revenue which may have to be sacrificed should not be allowed to influence any government in any decision regarding this very important question.

DAWN OF THE NEW AGE IN INDIA

UPENDRANATH BALL, M.A.

INDIA is a land of many religions. Streams of various cultures have poured into the country through various channels and at different times. These cultures still exist in their original purity, some have been transformed by their contact with other streams of thought and practice. The people in their desire to organise themselves into a nation are feeling the necessity of evolving a common culture which would satisfy their intellectual and moral aspirations. But the social and historical background is not very helpful for such a process. We are today bound by several common links. The railway and motor transport has reduced the distance which used to separate one part from another. The radio has brought us closer together and electricity is constantly at our service to forge new points of contact.

Politically India is throbbing with new life. The impulse of liberty and self-expression has awakened in us a new consciousness. Our intellectual curiosity has led many an adventurous mind to explore unknown regions of science and to speculate into the mysteries of the universe. The apathy and indifference which overpowered the Indians towards the close of the eighteenth century have been dispelled and we witness now all around us a vigorous endeavour to raise India to the level of other progressive nations.

In the eighteenth century the old empires and kingdoms toppled down one after another. The process continued down to the middle of the nineteenth century. The fall of the strongly established political entities produced a moral degeneration. People lost faith in their culture and religion.

In their period of depression the social and religious practices assumed many ugly features. When the stream of life is retarded there are formed pools and eddies helping the growth of useless weeds. Even the unnecessary and meaningless things are considered very important. Institutions and practices which never appealed to rational minds are resorted to in despair as very vital to society. The trifling and the unimportant accretions of the periods of weakness engage the

greater attention of the people. Any deviation from the trodden track is looked upon with disfavour and in fact the distinction between the fundamental and the superficial, between the vital and the unessential is lost sight of. A drowning man clings to a straw when he is in the midst of a great crisis of life. When the Indians were deprived of their political freedom they clung to their social and religious institutions with all their strength. Failing to adjust themselves in affairs of state they fell back upon whatever they could call their own, and which they could maintain without interference from the ruling authority.

The second half of the eighteenth century was in fact a period of great darkness for India. The old Hindu culture had lost its vitality, the Moslem culture was in discount and the European culture was suspected. People in their eagerness to conserve the practices of their forefathers tried to fortify themselves behind the barriers which they had raised in their defence against the encroachment of the more powerful forces. In their political impotency they became reactionary in their social and religious affairs. They forgot their old traditions, they did not care to apply their reason and got themselves involved in a great confusion of ideas in their bewilderment.

There grew up difference among the people in their everyday life, in their social and religious practices ; they began to pay their homage to different deities and respect to different scriptures and teachers. Thus developed an internecine war between religions and creeds. The votary of each creed in his eagerness to promote its interests lost sight of the psychological and historical factors of those institutions. The proverbial frog in the well does not know anything beyond its environment. A new world is revealed to it when it is brought out of its narrow residence. It cannot believe that there is anything beyond the well. The knowledge of a vaster region does no doubt give it joy but at the same time it feels a sort of pain in parting with its old ideas. There are others who would not give credence to the existence of anything else beyond their narrow cells even when they are brought out of them. A great deal of courage and patience become necessary to break through this inertia.

The minds of the Indians were suffering from a chronic atrophy since they lost their political freedom. They raised their prayers for a change. They tried to forget their defeats in an ecstasy of spiritual fervour. New religious movements of love and devotion came to soothe their bleeding hearts. But life of man does not grow in compartments.

Religion cannot grow apart from social freedom, and society loses its springs of activity unless it has the power to adjust itself in all its spheres. Religion, society and corporate existence as a political entity grow side by side. The religion of the fallen is marked by fear, cupidity and avarice. The free on the other hand look upon the object of their adoration with love and approach Him with trust. In the economic distress or pestilential epidemics the slave community approach the Terrible with a prayer to desist from an expression of His anger. But the free people would develop within themselves the power to remove these calamities, utilise to the full the gifts of the merciful Father and co-operate with Him in organising a new order of society where the spirit of love and mutual aid would gradually increase.

On the downfall of the Mughal Empire India stood dismembered and the petty States which raised their heads were governed by tyranny. The common people had no share in shaping the policy of these states. Men occupying positions of influence or clever in statecraft used to sell their ingenuity for sordid consideration of self and power. No high motives influenced their activities. The landlords and the country gentry extracted as much as they could from the peasantry. They neglected to protect their dependents and were anxious to increase their own possessions by any means. On the other hand the foreign merchants wanted to employ their newly acquired political influence in the interest of their material gain. They tried to control the cottage industries and internal trade in a way prejudicial to the Indians. The attempt to help the Indians failed disastrously and the hold of the foreign merchants became tighter. India became a slave both politically and economically. In these circumstances the religious aspirations were twisted to suit the interests of the priestly classes and the social life degenerated. The situation was manoeuvred by the crafty people to whom nothing was too mean and nothing so precious as he could not sacrifice. Religion was pulled down from its high pedestal and made to serve the greed and avarice of the priest.

The function of religion is to inspire man with hope and to create in him a desire to serve others. The service of man is the best expression of a religious life. But when religion is invoked to deprive women of their precious life or to rob others of their life and property or to put an end to the life of the newly born daughter then certainly the sense of religion must have undergone a profound

change. It was very often on the occasion of religious performances that the wildest orgies, drinking of intoxicating liquors and drugs, and various forms of immoralities were indulged in. In their social relations one class was set against another, the division was made acute by severe rigidity of caste rules, and the weak and poor were degraded to the lowest level. Even the touch of some classes was considered a sin. Women were used as no better than beasts and chattels. There was a custom called Kulinism in Bengal by which a man of the higher caste thought it a pride to have married a number of wives. In some cases the men used to keep a regular account of his marriages which were a source of income to them. The girls were accepted in marriage only when a large amount of money was paid to the bridegroom. After the marriage again these estimable gentlemen left their wives to the care of their parents and used to visit them whenever it suited them. In these circumstances it was impossible to expect a normal state of things. Evils of all sorts undermined the social fabric.

To raise India from such a morass was a herculean task. It must be said to our great relief that the organisation of society does not depend upon the narrow and limited resources of man. There are other forces at work to uplift the downtrodden and the lowly. The *Bhagabat Gita* has emphatically declared that whenever Religion is overcast with shadows and evils raise their heads, God creates himself. This is nothing else but the statement of the natural law of Providence. Whenever we are oppressed with unbearable heat a sudden burst of storm brings us relief. The burden of sin and sorrow is relieved by the grace of God. The increase of evils brings into operation the redeeming features of reforms. The poet has sung: "When it will dawn the vessel of thy mercy will carry me beyond the seas of troubles." The redeeming hands of our Father are always ready to receive us whenever we would cry out in agony for his help. He sends forth new inspiration and new resources to help us out of our difficulties. The door has to be knocked and it will be opened. He waits for the knocking. Otherwise He feels that his unsolicited blessings are not appreciated. The gifts earned through labour and industry are more precious than free gifts.

The dream of a new India, an India conscious of her rightful position in the comity of nations was a noble dream. In the dark days of India it was felt by a noble soul. This great dreamer plunged deep

into meditation ; he put himself in communion with the Infinite Being who pervades equally the land, water and the ethereal region. His heart throbbed with a new passion of love and service. The local limitations and the conventions of society could not stand in his way. He dived deep into the ocean of learning of the ancients ; he gathered precious gems from the unfathomable deep and lost himself in the ecstasy of a new vision.

India to him was a land of great possibilities. The old weaknesses he was resolved to remove and he wanted to irrigate the land with streams of new vitality. He raised his protest against the evils which were undermining the national life. His labours in the field of social reform bore ample fruits. The helpless widow who was forced to burn herself on the funeral pyre of her dead husband found in him a friend. Through his advocacy of her cause the orthodox Pundits came to her rescue. The sturdy Christian lent the support of the State authority. The course of events in India underwent a great change. The erstwhile weak and helpless Indians began to feel that they could set their own house in order if they put forth their exertions earnestly and sincerely.

In the field of social and political activities he attempted to awaken the national consciousness of the people. Our political degradation is the result of our apathy and indifference. If we really will to be free no power on earth can keep us in bondage. We are not free because we lack the will to be free. The British Government curtailed the liberty of the Press by an ill considered Regulation. The public opinion was not sufficiently strong to enter a protest against this reactionary measure. Rammohun Roy was not daunted by the threats of the Government. He could not enlist the co-operation of more than six of his fellow-countrymen in objecting to this Regulation. But he was confident of the justice of his cause. He appealed to the Supreme Court not to register this document. But the Court was there to register the decree of the Executive. It did not enter into the merits of the case. Rammohun did not give up the cause as hopeless, and ultimately it was left to another Governor-General to remove this obnoxious measure from the Statute Book. Rammohun felt that once freedom's battle was launched it would go on increasing in strength till it achieved the goal. He was not afraid to be in the minority. It requires great courage to stand against the current opinion. But those who dream of great things see through the screen

of temporary mists which darken the vision. They see something which ordinary persons fail to perceive. The men of faith possess an uncommon insight and unusual perseverance. They are not daunted by the frowns of the little gods who are responsible for most of the social and national ills. The leaders of his own community did not spare their efforts to discredit Rammohun before the public. But he was convinced of his mission and he knew what he was about. He was drawing the programme of national reconstruction.

The deep love which Rammohun cherished towards his God and his country gave him sufficient strength to stand against all opposition. The clear light within him pierced through the encircling gloom. The conflict of ideals and the imminent danger to the Indian system of education by the onslaught of European culture produced a reaction. The old educational institutions could not retain the loyalty of the people and there was no arrangement to organise a new system in which the ideals of the East and the West could be combined. The Indian system had lost its normal vigour. It was confined mainly to the priestly class. Nobody could earn his livelihood by following the indigenous system. There was very little of scientific approach to the problems of life. The main idea behind the system was submission to authority. Mind was not free to probe into the deeper mysteries according to the dictates of reason. Blind faith was insisted upon as the safest course. This was the state of things in the Western world before Francis Bacon propounded the inductive method. New inventions and new ideas have revolutionised the intellectual and moral outlook of the Europeans. They have discovered new lands and new truths and expanded the horizon of human activity. Man is realising himself more steadily than he could do in the earlier period. He has ceased to be a victim of the natural forces and he is dominating the resources placed at his disposal.

In place of awe there is now an indomitable desire to bring under control the energies released by nature. The oceans do not now divide the world. The different parts of the world are bound together by cables and by radio and air service. The conception of the brotherhood of man is no longer a mere speculation. It is a reality and it is expressed through various channels. The nations meet together not only to discuss their problems of boundaries and trade relations but they are bound by invisible bonds of intellectual and moral co-operation. Man is not a helpless creature subject to

the freaks of fortune. He is a moral being competent to shape his life according to ethical principles. He is bound up inextricably with the fabric of the universe which is being governed by the laws of the Great Moral Governor.

The development of the moral consciousness has lifted man from his helpless condition. The mutual relations between the members of society have correspondingly improved. Woman has acquired for herself a position of honour and dignity. She is no longer a mere plaything. She directs the machinery of civilization by the hands with which she rocks the cradle. She has been promoted to her rightful place as the equal and comrade of man. She has been admitted to every sphere of life and she has acquitted herself splendidly wherever she has been tried, in government and politics, in industrial and social life and in fine art and intellectual pursuit.

When we look around India of today and compare the present with the India of a century ago we are struck with the great progress made in this period. The material benefits that she is enjoying now have not come by mere accident. They are the results of the persistent labour and unceasing devotion of the pioneers. Indian Philosophy had lost its vitalising influence and was confined to the intellectual exercise of the schoolmen. People had forgot science and were satisfied with the tricks of the quacks. They dared not approach the Western science or attempt rational thinking lest the sanctity of their pagoda was thereby reduced. Even the Moslems were reluctant to come near the English schools.

It is very often remarked that India has greatly suffered from the system of education advocated by Macaulay. The people have been denationalised and they have lost the capacity to think for themselves. But what was the condition of things before this system was introduced? Did the temple of learning in those days generate in the heart of the Indians the spirit to protect themselves from the attack of foreign influence? Why did the people fall easy prey to the foreign invaders? Why did they fail to maintain their economic freedom? The fact is the system could not save us. It must be said to the credit of the modern system that it has stimulated our curiosity in the secrets of nature. Every cultured man in these days try to understand the meaning and significance of his religious and social practices. The learning of the ancient Indians was free from the influence of

meaningless convention and was directed to the solution of the actual problems of life. But that was not the case in the eighteenth century. The cultural life of that period was in the lowest level.

There was a necessity of evolving a system in which the heritage of India would be developed and at the same time the contributions of other peoples would be cheerfully welcomed. India would grow stronger by the ready co-operation of friends from all lands. Rammohun Roy was impressed by the progress achieved by the Europeans in philosophy and science. By his studies in the ancient classics of the East he felt that the old freedom of thought could be revived and the culture of India could be enriched by enlarging the knowledge of his countrymen in the methods of accurate thinking and scientific research. With the help of David Hare he laid the foundation of the New Learning in the country. Here again he was confronted by the opposition of the orthodox leaders of the Hindu community. The association of Rammohun in the work of education was considered as objectionable. But he had the vision of a new synthesis in which Eastern philosophy and Western method of approach through observation and verification should meet. He organised his own Vedanta College for the purpose and started a school for giving English education in addition to Vernacular.

The new education not only brought the young men in contact with Shakespeare and Milton but they felt a new impulse by the speculations of Locke and Hume and the discoveries of Galileo and Newton. They began to compare the thoughts of the Greeks with those of the Indians, studied Arabic along with Persian. Euclid appeared to them in a new garb and Vedanta ceased to lead them to illusion. Socrates and Vedanta led them to self-introspection and the study of the natural science with Anatomy and Physiology taught them the art of self-improvement. The old fatalism lost its force on the approach of the clear light of rationalism. The affection found its expression in the movement for social service. In the light of Vedanta the relations between man and man changed. The powerful and the privileged felt it a greater honour to serve than to exploit. The charity took the form of loving ministration to the needs of fellowmen. Schools and hospitals cropped up to bring knowledge to the ignorant and to minister unto the physical troubles of the diseased. We find institutions for the orphans, lepers and the blind. The

natural calamities like flood, famine, earthquake and other disasters draw forth volumes of ready service. People have given up the old spirit of helpless surrender into the hands of the inevitable. There is a strong will to grow, a keen desire to adjust our own affairs and to re-organise life according to the dictates of reason. They have begun to think socially and greater sacrifice is found to-day in the service of the country and the fellow-citizens than in the past. Patriotism, love of country, service of fellow-creatures proceed on the careful observation of the students of history and of the modern physical, psychological and social sciences.

The talk now everywhere is a comprehensive plan of life. There should be no separation between love and knowledge, worship and service. Their value is increased by combination. Mental and moral forces produce deep and unquenchable spiritual hankering, and the search of the True, the Good and the Beautiful has awakened the latent currents of the mind and the heart. Science serves religion and the religious emotion leads man to the search of truth. The streams of life issuing from different directions have met together in the modern national awakening. Men of all persuasions now recognise the services rendered by Rammohun Roy who almost single-handed shaped the Ideals of New India. Be it a social question or a political problem, an educational programme or religious endeavour everywhere we see signs of a robust optimism. The erstwhile despair of the weak and the helpless has given place to hope.

At the root of all this lies the indomitable faith in the goodness of God who is the Father of the universe, and who is giving us food to eat, water to drink and the air to breathe. This faith in the Fatherhood of God leads to the realisation of the brotherhood of Man. Man is endowed with divinity in whichever circumstance he may be placed. We have to recognise this divinity and to open out before him the vista of a new life in which there is no death and no pang. If religion can do that then it becomes effective, otherwise it remains a catalogue of dead formulæ. To maintain the spirit of true religious endeavour we need love and service as great contributories. The votary of the new religion brings to the tabernacle an offering of a pure heart and a ready acquiescence in what is good and noble in man. Here he meets with pilgrims from all lands and all creeds. One current of devotion runs through the hearts of all. When we see God everywhere and in every soul we hear His sweet name

chanted from every throat. In whatever language man expresses his devotion he is voicing forth the common aspirations of man. The comparative study of religions has revealed man in all his simplicity. The differences have melted away and we hear all around the deep chorus of a universal song.

“ THE PLACE OF EXAMINATIONS IN THE EDUCATIVE PROCESS ”

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MUCH discussion has taken place lately about the rôle which examinations should play in the educational system. Many people maintain that the majority of examinations are not reliable tests either of ability or of educational attainments. They point out that most examinations, including Matriculation and University Degree Examinations merely test the ability to memorise and set down a given body of facts. “ Cramming,” they maintain, is an evil which adversely affects the educational process. Instead of steadily perfecting himself in his knowledge of a subject, of making intellectual and spiritual progress, the student’s education is periodically interrupted. He has to memorise, in order that he may “ disgorge ” them on paper, a host of facts, many of which are of purely academic value. The student, too, tends to take a short sighted view of things. If he is successful at examinations, he may tend to measure his educational progress by them, to rest on his oars, and cease from striving. If, on the other hand, he does not possess the “ Examination temperament ” he may become discouraged and give up the quest for knowledge.

There is a great deal of truth in these criticisms, yet it is very probable that the examination system will be continued in spite of them, for lack of a better method of assessing educational progress.

Another criticism, which has been directed against the examination system is based upon the actual assessment of value. It has been pointed out that no two examiners agree about the marks which should be allotted to an examination answer. The great difference of opinion in this respect, has been actually proved experimentally. Thus we see that examination marking often depends upon subjective factors, upon their personal idiosyncrasy of the examiner, even though he be very honest in intention.

Obviously then it is desirable to devise some method of testing which will eliminate, as far as possible, these subjective factors. The

examinations themselves, too, should endeavour to bring out the originality of the pupil, to test his grasp of a subject and his ability to utilise facts as an illustration of principles, and not merely his painfully and mechanically acquired familiarity with a set of facts.

For this reason a much more extensive use of Intelligence Tests have been recommended. Intelligence tests, it is pointed out, do not set out to test acquired knowledge, but innate ability. Furthermore, the marking of them is objective. There are definite answers required. They also admit of comparisons being made with the work of children in other parts of the country since " norms " are usually available.

An Intelligence Test by itself, however, is not adequate. It does not reveal " Slackers," intelligent children, perhaps, who, for some reason or other, have not been taking an interest in their work. It does not test progress in the work of the class. It should be combined with tests in school subjects and serve to act as a corrective to the result of these. Furthermore, Intelligence Tests cannot be used to much advantage after the age of fourteen.

They have, however, been utilised in the north of England and other places, in scholarship examinations for children of 11 of years age. Dr. Godfrey Thomson has devised his " Northumberland Tests " for this purpose.

Generally speaking, an examination for young children, should test acquired knowledge as little as possible. It is criminal to expect young children to waste hours memorising facts most of which are dead lumber, unrelated to anything vital in their own lives.

The first ten years of a child's life at school should be free from formal examinations. The teacher should be able to assess the children's work, if assessment be necessary, from personal observation, from oral work, and from the inevitable small Tests, which are given in the course of the year.

At about the age of ten, however, the child is transferred to a different type of school. In America no examination is necessary to sort out the sheep from the goats. Every child passes on automatically to the High School or Junior High School. In England, however, an examination is set and, on the basis of this, the limited number of free places in Secondary schools is allotted. It seems rather drastic that a child's whole career, his entire after life, should thus depend upon an examination lasting a few hours,

Obviously a reform is necessary. That there should be such an examination is perhaps essential, but the child's previous school work, his general development should also be taken into consideration.

This, then, is the first peak in the examination system. At the Secondary school, the child becomes used to examinations. They come upon him at the end of every term, and often tend to overtax his strength, unless he, very wisely, decides not to pay too much attention to them.

The next and possibly, most important, peak, is the Matriculation Examination, the passing of which is deemed essential for many careers. This is taken about the age of 16 and is followed later, by the Universities' examination.

It is at this stage that examinations become very important. Nearly every thing that is taught in the school is modified by the demands of examiners. Set books are read, a very definite programme of work is laid down, the harassed teacher attempts to bring all his pupils "up to the scratch." The educational aim, the perfecting of the moral, intellectual and physical life of the pupil, is lost sight of altogether. Every thing is subordinated to the purposes of the examinations, Unintelligent drudgery results, and real progress is hampered.

At the University too, the student is subjected to a rigorous examination system. He is, however, comparatively free, at this stage, and is not harassed by external authorities to the same extent as at school. In place, however, of term examination system, upon which his work is based, a series of fortnightly essays, might be a better index of his ability and progress.

It seems that, on the whole, there are three periods in the individual's life when some kind of examination is necessary. (1) The age when he leaves his elementary school, in order to embark upon a Secondary course. (2) The age when he leaves school altogether, either for some trade or profession, or for the University, and (3) the conclusion of every year at the University.

(1) The pupil's ability to attend a Secondary school should not be assessed entirely upon the results of one examination. Much improvement has taken place, however, in recent years in connection with this examination. The introduction of intelligence tests was a progressive step.

(2) The entire curriculum of the later years of a Secondary school should not be subordinated to the Matriculation Examination. A much broader and more humane view of the educational process should be taken.

(3) Greater attention should be paid to essays and individual work of the student, and less to term and degree examinations.

The introduction of these reforms would be much towards widening and improving the educational system of this country.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements of India and Abroad.]

Bombay University

Mr. Rustom Pestonjee Masani will, it is understood, be appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University *vice* Mr. V. N. Chandravarkar, with effect from April 1.

Medical College for Dacca

A Committee to consider the ways and means for establishing a Medical College for Dacca recently met at Dacca and held four meetings. The following distinguished persons constituted the Committee:—

Chairman—Major-General P. S. Mills, Surgeon-General of Bengal.
Members—Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University.
Lt.-Col. T. C. Boyd, Principal, Calcutta Medical College.
Dr. M. N. Bose, Principal, Carmichael Medical College.
Lt.-Col. Mallya, Supdt., Campbell Medical School.
Dr. P. De, Professor of Physiology, Calcutta Medical College.
Dr. J. C. Ghose, Professor of Chemistry, Dacca University.
Major R. Linton, Civil Surgeon of Dacca.
Khan Sahib Maizuddin Khan, Deputy Superintendent, Dacca Medical School.

They visited the Dacca University laboratories, the Dacca Medical School and the Mitford Hospital.

The Committee discussed the proposed scheme for the institution of a Faculty of Medicine in Dacca University in all its bearings and appointed a Sub-Committee to work out the details of the scheme. They propose to meet again either at Dacca or at Calcutta as soon as the scheme is ready.

It is reported that the Committee have been favourably impressed with the scheme.

Dacca University

It is reliably understood that a conference recently held in Calcutta with representatives of the Dacca University, Bengal Government and other bodies recommended the starting of a Faculty of Agriculture in Dacca University from 1940.

Educated Unemployed at U. P.

The United Provinces Government are reported to be considering a number of schemes for the relief of the educated unemployed of the province. It is now proposed that they should be given subsidies to start poultry farming, fruit-growing and small-scale industries and if this proposal is accepted funds may be raised from the public for supplementing Government resources.

In this connection it will be recalled that the Government are already giving subsidies to young men taking to Industrial careers. But such assistance as is given at present is not considered to be adequate.

Studies in England

The Government of Assam have appointed a Provincial Advisory Committee, with headquarters at Gauhati, to assist Indian students proceeding to England and to supply them with information as to educational facilities and social conditions.

Munich University

A sensation has been caused in Catholic circles by the announcement that the Government have closed down the Catholic theological faculty of the Munich University. The reason is alleged to be that the students, acting on instructions from Cardinal Faulhaber's office, boycotted lectures of a professor appointed by Herr Rust, Minister of Education.

The time for closing was conveniently chosen as Cardinal Faulhaber is in Rome attending the Conclave. He is expected to hurry back to try to adjust the matter.

Primary Schools for Girls

Mian Abdul Haye, Education Minister, Punjab, announced at the District Teachers' Conference at Muzaffargarh that the Government had decided to start 200 new primary schools for girls in rural areas.

A central normal school to train women teachers would be established at Sharappur in Sheikhpura. The curriculum would include teaching of domestic arts and sciences.

The scheme forms part of a five-year rural reconstruction programme initiated by the Government last year.

Annamalai University

There was a dramatic development in the situation at Annamalai University when a general strike was declared by the students consequent on the refusal of the Vice-Chancellor to revise orders regarding the expulsion of six students in connection with the strike of last November. Some students met recently in the railway premises and resolved to wait on the Vice-Chancellor and appeal for the admission of the expelled students.

The Vice-Chancellor saw two representatives of the students. After hearing them, he said that he could not revise original orders which were

assed in consultation with the professors. The students thereupon gave ultimatum and declared a general strike.

Military Training

Military training of young men in Assam is urged in a resolution given notice of by Mr. Sarat Chandra Bhattacharyya, M.L.C. The resolution will be moved in the forthcoming session of the Legislative Council which commences on March 9.

The resolution recommends to the Government that early arrangements be made for military training on the lines of the University Training Corps for all able-bodied students of the Earle Law College and all the arts colleges in the province and that the Central Government be moved to arrange, as early as possible, for military training of all the men in Assam. It also recommended that the men selected for such training be given the same allowances and privileges as recruits in the Indian Army.

Miscellany

THE HOBBS SOCIETY OF GERMANY

In 1938 (April) the 350th birthday of Hobbes (1588-1679) was celebrated by an international conference under the auspices of the *Hobbes Gesellschaft* at Kiel (Germany). The President of the Hobbes Society, Baron Cay von Brockdorff, referred to the appreciation of *Hobbisme* in the middle of the eighteenth century by D'Alembert, Diderot, Condillac and other French thinkers as well as to the influence exercised on Frederick the Great of Prussia by the French translation of Hobbes's work known as *Les devoirs de l'homme et du citoyen* (The Duties of Man and the Citizen).

It may be added here, *en passant*, that Hobbes's influence on German thought has been steadily growing since the publication of Toennies's *Hobbes: der Mann und der Denker* (Stuttgart, 2nd edition, 1912). Toennies made good use of Hobbes in his *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, i.e., "Community and Society" (1st edition, 1887) as well as in *Einführung in die Soziologie* (1931) and *Geist der Neuzeit*, "The Spirit of the Modern Age" (1936). One should not fail to observe, however, that Toennies was a believer in democracy as well as in socialism.

In the Conference at Kiel Hobbes is described by Carl Schmitt (Berlin) as the unconfused spirit (*unbeirrter Geist*) who knew how to think daringly to the end of the fear of man for life and as the genuine thinker of a political reality. John Laird (Aberdeen), author of *Hobbes* (London, 1934), says that Hobbes should have a lively influence upon the ideologies of all Europe as well as upon the thought of his own country.

G. P. Gooch (London) observes: "England has had three political thinkers of the first rank, Hobbes, Locke and Burke. Hobbes was the Englishman to ask fundamental questions about the nature and purpose of the state." In Charles Appuhn's (Paris) estimation Hobbes is a precursor of Comte as having attempted two centuries before the great Frenchman *la constitution d'une sorte de physique sociale* (the constitution of a kind of social physics). Although Hobbes was a partisan of *pouvoir absolu* (absolute might) he was *un libérateur* (a liberator) because he introduced the sciences of man and human affairs into the system of the sciences of nature. Baron Seillière (Paris), author of *L'Imperialisme démocratique* (1907), calls Hobbes one of the most remarkable precursors of Nietzsche and says that following the advice of Diderot he has read and commented on Hobbes's work throughout life.

In the paper entitled *Hobbes und Indien* for the same conference the present author points out that Hobbes's emphasis on the passions and emotions in human nature agrees with Manu's dictum that *durlubho hi aucirnarah* (rare is the man that is good by nature). Besides, the Hobbesian "state of nature" is identical with the *matsya-nyaya* (logic of the fish) of Hindu *Artha* and *Niti* philosophy. In both these contributions Hobbes is as valid to-day everywhere on earth as he ever was.

KUCZYNSKI AND THE NEW POPULATION SCIENCE

R. K. Kuczynski's *Methods of Measuring the Balance of Births and Deaths*, a paper for the International Congress of Population, Rome, 1931 and *The Balance of Births and Deaths* (Washington, D. C., first volume, 1928, second volume, 1931), as well as Dublin and Lotka's paper on the real growth rate in the *Journal of the American Statistical Association* (September 1925) have served to focus attention on age-groups, differential fertility, marriage-curves, etc. The study of growth rate is placed on new foundations. Indeed a new population science, so to say, is started by the thesis that, analyzed according to age-composition, the death rate is higher than the birth rate even in those countries where a relatively high birth rate is to be seen (e.g., Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, England and France).

It is on this Kuczynskian conclusion that the cry, *Sterben die Weissen Voelker?* (Are the White Races Dying?), is raised by Burgdoerfer in Germany. It is to be observed, however, that not all the white races are in the condition described by Kuczynski.* For instance, the growth rates of Italy, Spain, Lithuania, Portugal, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Ukraina and Russia are quite high. It is the Latins and chiefly the Slavs that exhibit the high rate as contrasted with the Teutons (the so-called Nordics). Hence arises a special problem for the Nordics.

It is with reference to this situation that the Italian demographer, Corrado Gini, adumbrates his theory of the "parabola of evolution" and asserts that European races are exhibiting senescence with the exception of the Italians and the Slavs. Gini's paper entitled "The Birth and Revival of Nations" is available in *Population* (Chicago, 1930), which contains, besides, papers by Nasu (Japanese), Baker (American) and Kuczynski. Gini believes that it is possible to rejuvenate some of the dying races by infusion of blood from new, but ethnically not very remote, races.

According to Kuczynski's *Population Movements* (Oxford, 1935) the enormous growth of the white population—from 155 millions in 1770 to 720 millions in 1935—is due exclusively to a decrease of mortality. The greatest reduction in mortality has taken place in the age composition (0-5). But the number of infants under 1 and of children between 1 and 5 in the entire population is small. Therefore for the entire population the reduction in mortality cannot be considered to be great, although "crude" death rates seem to indicate a great reduction. The correct birth rates are to be computed by showing the average number of girls born to a woman who lives through child-bearing age (15-45). In Northern and Western Europe 210 girls used to be born on the average per 100 women in 1886. In 1933 the figure was 20. The index (*gross reproduction rate*) came down thus from 2.1 to 0.9.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

HOCKING'S CO-AGENT STATE

William Ernest Hocking's latest work is *The Lasting Elements of Individualism* (New Haven, 1937). In Hocking's analysis John Stuart Mill, although a champion of liberty, turns out essentially to be an exponent

* Kuczynski and Burgdoerfer have been discussed at length by the present author in *Ekater Dhana-Daulat O Arthashastra* (The Wealth and Economics of Our Own Times, Vol. II, 1936).

of social utility, whereas Karl Marx, although the prophet of the socialistic reconstruction of the society, is an ardent lover of man's inherent rights as an individual. The "incompressible individual" is Hocking's ideal. But, on the other hand, he wants also the will to an active social unity. This latter is being furnished by modern despotisms of the bolshevistic and fascistic types, says he. But they have served at the same time to extinguish the individuals. What is needed is a "co-agent state" which will act as the individuals' responsible agent but at the same time promote and develop their conscience.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE ARISTOCRACY IN COMMUNISM

As a renegade from communism F. Borkenau discusses in *The Communist International* (London, 1938) the swing of the Comintern from extreme left to extreme right, especially since 1935. The communistic philosophy is no longer to be treated as a spectre haunting Europe because it has committed itself to the support of capitalism and conventional democracy, says he. The communist parties of all countries have been derived numerically less from the factory workers than from other classes. They are not mass parties of the proletariat. It is the "labour aristocracy," and the *intelligentsia* that constitute the leading factors in communist organizations.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE STRENGTH OF DEMOCRACY

Donald Tyerman, writing on "The Strength of Democracy" (*Lloyds Bank Ltd. Monthly*, London, 1938, December), observes that the bare record of the last hundred years in England is sufficient to dispel the suspicion that parliamentary government is incapable of wide-flung administrative effort, or of directing industry, commerce and finance. In practice democracy has proved to be no less State-minded than dictatorship.

To-day there is very little business which is not regarded as "affected with a public interest," and the State has accordingly assumed powers to direct and assist. The State owns printing works, arsenals, ordnance factories, naval dockyards and breweries in Carlisle and Fretna, while at the same time running a postal, telephone, telegraph and banking business. In addition the Government operates several "layers" of services. There are first of all the social services, inaugurated in almost every instance by private charity and voluntary endeavour, but beyond the resources of unofficial bodies as soon as the question came of serving the entire people—basic services upon which the character of life and livelihood in a modern community depends, because very few people could provide these services for themselves: public health, public assistance, education and slum clearance.

The second layer is made up by what we might call the essential services: water, gas, electricity, transport, posts and broadcasting—services which cannot be left to the competitive operation of the profit motive.

Essential industries, trades upon which the life, livelihood and security of the people rest, constitute the third layer of State services operated by various methods of "remote" control. Farming, for instance, has almost always been a Government pensionary, because of the vital importance of food in time of war or in the absence of foodstuffs from abroad. To-day an array of marketing schemes, quotas, guaranteed prices and import restrictions show that the arms of the State are more sheltering than ever. New industries like beet sugar production and civil aviation, again, are assisted by direct financial aid from the Government. Tramp shipping in time of need is subsidised, while overseas trade is fostered and aided by trade facilities and export credits. Indeed, outstanding among the State's industrial functions are the salvaging and reconstruction of essential trades in depression and difficulty.

Thus the State, though parliamentary, is almost ubiquitous. Even in the holy of holies of liberal England—the City of London, which resisted the Kings of the past—the Government is supreme now-a-days. Treasury guidance is mostly implicit and agreed, but it rules the roost. The Treasury and the Bank of England work hand in hand. The Exchange Equalisation Fund dominates the foreign exchange market. The Foreign Investment (Advisory) Committee supervises all long-term foreign lending, and "perpetuates rather than checks" Government control.

Broadly, then, the characteristic English attempt to institute State supervision and control without abandoning the healthy stimuli of private enterprise, competition and private risk-bearing has created a State very different from the *laissez-faire* fiction which is so often contrasted disadvantageously with the controlled economies of their countries.

According to Tyerman, then, England's parliamentary system is a credit not a debt: it is possible for far more of the necessary organisation to be done voluntarily and by agreement than in almost any other country; and a stream of criticism from the Opposition and the Press is a salutary incentive.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

CAMPAIGN AGAINST BIRTH CONTROL IN ENGLAND

A growing section of the economic, sociological and political thought in England is taking keen interest in the causes and remedies of depopulation. A. M. Carr-Saunders, author of *World Population* (Oxford, 1936) and other works on demographic problems, is convinced that the British people is heading towards extinction on account of small families, i.e., birth control. War against birth control is commencing on all sides.

The new population science is based on the postulate that depopulation is a likelihood and that it cannot be combated by mere reduction in the death rate. What is imperative is an improvement in fertility. This is the fundamental message of Kuczynski and it is emphasised by him in a chapter of *Political Arithmetic* (London, 1938). This is a work by several authors under the general editorship of Lancelot Hogben.

According to Enid Charles and Pearl Moshinsky a correlation is observable between low fertility and a high percentage of employed women. Higher fertility prevails in metal industries and agriculture. In D. V. Glass's analysis marriage rates and real wages are found to be related between 1851 and 1934.

Propaganda to combat birth control has been assuming considerable proportions. In *The Menace of British Depopulation* (London, 1937) G. F. McCleary seeks to mobilize the ideas of the new population science among the masses and the *élites*. Another work of the same class is *The Population Problem* (London, 1938) edited by T. H. Marshall.

In this book Kuczynski points out that the Russian population would grow up to 650 millions by 2000 A.D. while that of Northern and Western Europe would go down to 150 millions. Again, the British population in the British Empire, 55 millions at the present moment, would be reduced to 45 millions fifty years hence and to 37 millions in the next twenty-seven years while the non-British population of the Empire would rise from 18 millions of to-day to 37 millions. Later, the British population may be extinct in the British Empire.

For Australia, New Zealand, U. S. A. and Canada Arnold Plant suggests that unless the trend of the birth rate is reversed, migration alone will not make possible the development of these regions. As for Great Britain he would recommend an active encouragement of immigration of young persons and more educated persons.

H. D. Henderson wants the system of family allowances introduced in England. Unless, however, ideas unsympathetic to large families are removed, mere family allowances will not counteract depopulation.

1. H. Marshall is convinced that economic assistance alone is not enough to check depopulation. The large family movement has to be rendered fashionable. The three-child instead of the two-child family has to become the ideal of the British people in order to save it from extinction.

In this connection it is worth while to observe that the measures adopted by the Governments in Italy, Germany and France in order to promote large families have been examined by D. V. Glass in the *Struggle for Population* (Oxford, 1936). He is convinced that these measures have hardly succeeded in their objects. The will to large family is considered by him to be more important than any repressive measure of the State against birth control or any economic subventions granted by it.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

LAW IN CONTEMPORARY PHILOSOPHY

At the Ninth International Congress of Philosophy, Paris (July, 1937) which is also described as the Descartes Congress because of the tercentenary of Descartes celebrated by the Congress participants a large number of papers is given over to the discussion of legal topics. A resumé is offered by Emile Brehier on the basis of Vols. X-XII of the Reports of the Congress. These three volumes are given over to *la valeur, les normes et la réalité*.*

Plachy conceives a sort of juridical Kantianism. He is interested in the investigation of *a priori* or permanent conditions of the given norms. On the other hand, Prochazka believes that it is not possible to justify one norm without reference to another. Now one given norm can be deduced from several justifying norms. There is, therefore, quite a great ground for indetermination.

* " L'Etat présent de la philosophie d'après les Travaux du Congrès Descartes " in the *Revue Philosophique* (Paris), January-February, 1938.

This method of analysis assumes existing norms. But how to introduce the norm when one does not have anything but facts to begin with ? This is the objection made very often against those who identify the norm with a fact. Don't they thereby deny the very notion of law ? It is to this that a reply is given by Davy. He shows the individual not as anterior to the society but arising out of it. It is the life in society which postulates and produces the attribution, to the individuals who are its agents, of a normal value without which the play of significances and of honour (conditions of this life) would not be conceivable. The individual is not found invested with these rights in order to submit them to the caprice of his own will but in order to re-create them by making them this time pass through his conscience.

Morrow thinks like Duguit that law can and should come entirely out of the norm conceived as an imperative order. The necessities of the enterprise in common explain all. "Orderliness normally seems to arise with something like spontaneity out of situations in which co-operation is involved." Horvath argues in the same positivistic although somewhat different manner to the effect that reality and value are both abstractions. They exist together and law is nothing but the social objectivation of the simultaneous perception of the thing perceived and the rules valued.

All the contributors to the Descartes Congress appear to be interested exclusively in positive law. Natural law seems to have been entirely ignored. Horvath, however, mentions it as something like a Kantian category. It is a regularity or invariable structure of perception but not a transcendental object. But according to Sauter it is a transcendental object. Everybody who ignores *Naturrecht* (natural law) as the source and highest norm of all positive law, says he, has no means in his hands by which this cultural domain, namely, law can be separated from other cultural domains or from power and force. Natural law, according to Sauter, is not made up of simple postulates or categories of right. It is that eternal dynamic, nay, revolutionary, element which impels us always to attempt assimilating the prevalent legal system to what is felt to be the obligatory ideal of justice. Brehier considers this attitude to be Platonic. Kraus also exhibits this Platonic idealism but he combines it with the relativism of Protagoras. A value comes always out of evaluation. But the evaluation is just when one prefers what produces an advantage.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION

The interpretation of the British constitution as furnished who by Barker believes in the influence of the Anti-Cabinet* as a factor in political synthesis or compromise is, like that of Bagehot in the *English Constitution*, a performance in philosophical dialectic and is liable to challenge by those who do not go much in for classic conceptions of life and society. A challenge may be offered, for instance, from the position of Harold Laski, who in his *Parliamentary Government in England* (1938) unearths a more radical antithesis than that contemplated by Barker. This antithesis, as demonstrated by Laski, is the have-nots of British society, the unpropertied, who find themselves in an attitude of antagonism to the property-owners, the

¹ "The Cabinet and the Anti-Cabinet in the British Constitutional Synthesis" (*Calcutta Review*, March 1938).

capitalistic class. These proletarian masses are much more effective than the conventional Anti-Cabinets. And since they are legally enfranchised, it is quite possible for them to organize, start a civil war and institute dictatorship. The failure of the capitalistic bourgeoisie to submit to the exigencies of the times can lead to the establishment of a dictatorship, as Laski has already suspected in *Democracy in Crisis* (1933). The future of parliamentary institutions in England, says he in 1938, depends on whether the voters be prepared to accept or reject in so many words the socialist transformation of the economic foundations of British society.

Laski's diagnosis of the situation is perhaps too radical and metaphysical for the British masses, used as they are to factually neo-socialistic ideologies prevailing in the atmosphere. The British synthesis for to-morrow is not to be found, however, in the smug and comfortable viewpoint of Barker's about compromise and continuity somehow consummating themselves in the British society. The synthesis is to come out of creative disequilibrium crying from house-tops for larger and larger doses of political power and economic prosperity for the proletariat.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Revolutionary Portugal (1910-1936)—By V. de Braganza-Cunha. James Clarke & Co., London, pp. 282...VII.

General Carmona rules Portugal to-day as a military Dictator. He has been in power since 1926 when General Gomes da Costa effected a military *coup de etat*. How Gomes da Costa was quietly sent to Azores and Carmona became the head of the State is a matter of history. The dictatorship replaced not an autocratic monarchy but a democratic republic. The house of Braganza went to voluntary exile in 1910 and the monarchy fell without a struggle after an armed rising in Lisbon. King Manoel II, the last ruler of his dynasty, had little political or administrative experience. He was unexpectedly called to the throne when his father Dom Carlos and the heir-apparent were assassinated by a revolutionary gang. Dom Carlos was by no means an absolutist. He stood by the constitution of his country as long as practicable and reluctantly granted exceptional powers to his last prime ministers under exceptional circumstances. As J. L. Garvin says "king Carlos was murdered not for his faults but for his virtues; not for the follies and sins of his previous career, but for the gallant and resolute patriotism he showed at the last. We can now realise that the Monarchy was doomed by his assassination." The revolution of 1910 succeeded not through any intrinsic merit or strength of its own. Admiral Candido dos Reis, the revolutionary leader, committed suicide to escape the penalty of failure. His followers dispaired of success, but the resolution of one man saved the day. Macado dos Santos, a young naval officer, refused to own defeat and continued the fight. The regular army was paralysed by the cowardice and indecision of its commanders and monarchy fell without a blow in self-defence. Machado dos Santos, however, did not want to seize power for himself. A provisional government was formed with Prof. Theophilo Braga as its head and a republic was proclaimed. That was in 1910. It was this republic that came to an end in 1926 after a chequered career of sixteen years. There is no satisfactory account of the Portuguese revolution in English and the volume under review is intended to remove this long felt need.

The author is a Luso-Indian publicist with royalist sympathies. He analyses the causes of the revolution and its failures with ability and insight. The Portuguese have a peculiar mentality. The nation occasionally goes mad. The causes vary from time to time. It is the Jesuits to-day, the Jews to-morrow. Seventy-five per cent. of the people are illiterate and a parliamentary government hardly suits a country where the majority of people are by nature apathetical to any political movement. That is why the Marquis of Pombal could with impunity defy the ancient laws of his land and that is why a military Dictator could so easily overthrow the republic he served. The revolutionary leaders were impractical doctrinaires, they drew their inspiration from revolutionary France and borrowed their political dogmas ready made from French text-books. They wanted a republic not because they had any definite grievance against the monarchy but because the monarchy failed to cope with evils inherent in the national character of the Portuguese. Under the republic, therefore, the old evils were further aggravated and what little political stability existed under the

monarchy totally disappeared. Six different cabinets came to power and fell in a single year and political chaos ensued. It was under such circumstances that General Carmona appeared on the scene and did away with the republic in the name of law and order.

Sr. Braganza-Cunha rightly complains that the Dictator has unreasonably encroached on personal liberties and has done away with the cherished rights of the Colcnics. But it is difficult to minimise the services rendered by Dr. Salazar to his country and people. When I visited Portugal in 1926 the economic depression was at its height. I did not handle a single metal coin. A large amount of paper money was in circulation and the national debt was steadily on the increase. A balanced budget was regarded as an impossible miracle but Dr. Salazar's ingenuity has converted a chronic deficit into a steady surplus, the national debt is being gradually wiped out and the financial position of Portugal is to-day as safe as that of any country in Europe. Before he assumed the portfolio of national Finances Dr. Salazar occupied the chair of Economics at the ancient University of Coimbra. It is seldom that a Professor of Economics makes a good Finance Minister.

A good bibliography and an index would have added to the value of this interesting volume. There are some printing mistakes, *e.g.*, Henry IV for Henry VI on p. 164, which are not very serious. The author never misses an opportunity of upholding the traditions of India, his native land.

S. N. SEN

Are Religions Identical—By Haricharan Mukherjee, B.L., Deoghar. Pages 191. Price Re. 1-8-0.

The object of this book is to show that the religions of the world, though apparently different, are in the main identical. To bring out the fundamental identity of religions, the author discusses such themes as the belief in the existence of God, creation of the world by God, distinction between virtue and sin, salvation, the process of initiation, the necessity of initiators and exponents of religion, the Scriptures, and the need of prayer or Divine worship for securing real happiness. He has, however, omitted the subject of "Heaven and Hell" for reasons which, he thinks, it was better not to state. According to him, all religions of the world agree on these points, although there may be minor differences of forms and expressions with regard to these and other matters. He has also discussed some other subjects like miracles, sectarianism, idolatry, transmigration, knowledge and predestination with a view to determine their real meaning and place in certain religions. He concludes with a criticism of the rationalism of free-thinkers and of the process of conversion from one religion to another.

While the object of the book is quite commendable, the author's way of attaining it is not so satisfactory. It is on the basis of inadequate historical data that he makes the sweeping generalisations that all religions agree in accepting the beliefs in Gods' existence, God's creation of the world and the like. But these beliefs are absent in some religions, especially in Buddhism and Jainism. So also the ideas of salvation, initiation, worship, etc., may be present in many religions. But the actual conceptions of these states and processes are so very different in different religions that it is hardly possible to identify them in the face of such strong points of divergence.

In fact, the author has to admit that different prophets are God's men who 'work for the same cause at different times under different circumstances and probably, therefore, under different shapes.' So also, the different religions may be said to be different forms and expressions of man's union with the Supreme Being, or different ways of attaining this consummate goal of human life. The legitimate conclusion that may be drawn from the evidence of history is that all religions lead to the same goal, and not that they are identical. Still, the author should be given all credit for drawing our pointed attention to the fundamental unity of all religions in this age of religious disputes and dissensions.

S. C. CHATTERJEE.

Ourselfs

[I. The Late Lord Brabourne.—II. Financial Help for Research in Synthetic and Indigenous Drugs.—III. Adharchandra Mookherjee Lecturer for 1937.—IV Seminar Scholars for the Students' International Union, Geneva.—V. Social Hygiene Congress, London.—VI. American Academy of Political and Social Science.—VII. The National Planning Committee, Bombay.—VIII. Mr Johan Van Manen.—IX. Tagore Law Professor for 1939.—X. Indian History Congress.—XI. St. Clement Okhridsnaj University, Sofia.—XII Coates Medal for 1937.]

I. THE LATE LORD BRABOURNE

It is with a profound feeling of sorrow and regret that we record the untimely demise on the 23rd February last of His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Sir Michael Herbert Rudolf Knatchbull, Baron Brabourne, M.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., J.P., Governor of Bengal and Chancellor of this University. We were deeply distressed to learn on the 18th February that His Excellency had been operated upon for an obstinate malady and on the following Thursday we were astounded by the tragic news that His Excellency was no more.

We mourn the death of a Chancellor who was the inheritor of the best traditions of British culture and nobility. Great as an administrator, gifted with a high sense of duty and with the rarest of virtues—courage, prudence and sympathy—he was greater even as a man, a fact which has been amply borne out by his sincere words and deeds. Bengal was fortunate at a critical juncture in her history to have at the helm of her affairs a man who understood her and was understood in return. It is now a little over a year that His Excellency assumed charge of this province and of his office as Chancellor of this University, and in such a short time did he become so popular that his loss is universally felt to-day as a personal one. Few will forget the spectacle of the melancholy crowd that kept pouring in at St. Paul's Cathedral to pay its tribute of respect and affection to the mortal remains of a much loved Governor who was every inch a gentleman, not to speak of the immense procession which followed the bier to its last resting place at St. John's Church.

It would have been a happy day for Bengal, and for this University, had he been spared a few years more to live and work in this country.

But fate has decided otherwise, and we deeply grieve to realise that a valuable life has been cut short all too soon. Our heart-felt sympathy goes out to the good Lady Brabourne and members of His Excellency's family in their great bereavement.

As a mark of respect to the honoured memory of His Excellency, the meeting of the Senate fixed for the 25th February stood adjourned till the 18th March, 1939. The following resolution which was moved from the chair by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, in the unavoidable absence of the Vice-Chancellor due to illness, was carried in solemn silence, members of the Senate present standing :—

“ The University of Calcutta places on record its profound sense of sorrow and loss at the sad and sudden demise of His Excellency Lord Brabourne, Governor of Bengal. In him, not only has the country lost an able administrator, a great statesman and a true friend, but the University has lost a beloved Chancellor whose warm and sympathetic interest in the University and all that concerned its welfare will be ever cherished by it with the liveliest feelings of gratitude.

The University tenders to The Lady Brabourne and the members of her family its deepest sympathy in their great sorrow.”

II. FINANCIAL HELP FOR RESEARCH IN SYNTHETIC AND INDIGENOUS DRUGS

The Managing Agents of The Lister Antiseptics and Dressing Co. Ltd. have offered to place at the disposal of the University the sum of Rs. 1,000, to be utilised in the course of the current year for carrying on investigation in Synthetic and Indigenous Drugs under the supervision of Dr. J. C. Bardhan. The offer has been accepted with thanks and a scheme submitted in this connexion by Dr. Bardhan has been sanctioned.

III. ADHARCHANDRA MOOKHERJEE LECTURER FOR 1937

Professor Birbal Sahani, D.Sc., F.R.S., who was appointed Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer for 1937, will deliver his lectures

on the 6th and 7th March, 1939, on " The Himalayan Flora—Past and Present " at the Asutosh Hall of our University.

IV. SEMINAR SCHOLARS FOR THE STUDENTS' INTERNATIONAL UNION, GENEVA

The following gentlemen have been nominated by the University for appointment as Seminar Scholars by the Students' International Union, Geneva, Switzerland and New York :—

Anil Chandra Ganguli, Esq., M.A., B.L., C/o. Secretary,
Y. M. C. A., 112, Gower Street, London.

Nripendranath Chatterjee, Esq., M.A., Jesus College, Oxford.

V. SOCIAL HYGIENE CONGRESS, London

Our University has sent its good wishes to the Social Hygiene Congress, which will hold its ninth biennial session in London at the British Medical Association House in July this year.

VI. AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

Our University has sent its good wishes to the American Academy of Political and Social Science, which will hold its forty-third Annual Meeting on the 31st March and the 1st April, 1939, to discuss the question, " Dictatorship and the Americas."

VII. THE NATIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE, Bombay

A Questionnaire has been submitted by the National Planning Committee, Bombay, which will be considered by a committee consisting of the following gentlemen :

Professor Meghnad Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S.

„ Phanindranath Ghosh, M.A., PH.D., SC.D., F. Inst. P.

„ Jnanendranath Mukherjee, M.A., D.Sc.

„ Jitendraprasad Niyogi, M.A., PH.D.

Dr. Mahendranath Goswami, M.A., DR. ES SC.

„ M. Quadrat-i-Khuda, D.Sc., (Lond.) D.I.C.

VIII. MR. JOHAN VAN MANEN

Mr. Johan Van Manen, C.I.E., has been renominated an Ordinary Fellow of this University.

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IX. TAGORE LAW PROFESSOR FOR 1939

Dr. P. K. Sen, M.A., LL.D. (Cantab.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW, sometime Judge, Patna High Court, has been appointed Tagore Law Professor for the year 1939. He will deliver a course of lectures on "Penology."

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X. INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

The next session of the Indian History Congress will be held in Calcutta under the auspices of this University.

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XI. ST. CLEMENT OKHRIDSNAJ UNIVERSITY, Sofia

Our University has conveyed its good wishes to the St. Clement Okhridsnaj University of Sofia on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary to be held in May this year.

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XII. COATES MEDAL FOR 1937

Lt.-Col. G. C. Maitra, L.M.S., I.M.S., has been selected by the Board of Adjudicators for the award of the Coates Medal for the year 1937.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

The Nyaya Theory of Knowledge (A critical study of some problems of Logic and Metaphysics), by Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. xix + 421. Rs. 5-0.

Sangitiki (in Bengali), by Mr. Dilipkumar Ray. D/Cr. 16mo pp. 292. Rs. 2-0.

Bankim Parichaya (in Bengali) D.F'cap. 16mo pp. 212. As. 8.

Patanjali Yoga Darsana, Royal 8vo pp. 731. Rs. 5-0.

The Successors of the Satavahanas in Lower Deccan, by Dr. Dineschandra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. xv + 417. Rs. 6-0.

The Spirit of Indian Civilization, by Dr. Dharendra Nath Roy, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 296 + xxiv. Rs. 2-8.

Emerson: His Muse and Message, by Rao Sahib Dr. Ramkrishna Rao, M.A., L.T., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 313 + xii. Rs. 3-8.

Principles and Problems of Indian Labour Legislation, by Dr. Rajanikanta Das, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 282 + xiv. Rs. 2-8.

Upanishader Alo (in Bengali), by Dr. Mahendranath Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 147. As. 12.

Bangla Bhasa Parichay (in Bengali), by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. Demy 8vo pp. 192. As. 12.

A Grammar of Arabic Languages, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 282. Rs. 1-4.

The Fundamentals of Analysis, by Prof. F. W. Levi, Dr. Phil. Nat. Royal 8vo pp. 60. Rs. 1-4.

Books in the Press

MARCH, 1939

- 1 History of the Bengali Novel, by Prof. Srikumar Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D.
- 2 The Problem of Minorities, by Dr. Dharendraanath Sen, M.A., Ph.D.
- 3 Jubilee French Course, by J. Buffard, Esq.
- 4 The Evolution of Indian Industry, by Dr. Rohinimohan Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.
- 5 Santhal Insurrections, by Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph.D.
- 6 Sree Krishna Bijay, Edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A.
- 7 An Introduction to Indian Philosophy by Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D. and Dr. D. M. Dutt, M.A., Ph.D.
- 8 General Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts, edited by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A.
- 9 Patua Sangit, edited by G S. Dutt, Esq., I.C.S
- 10 Courtesy in Shakespeare, by Dr. Mohinimohan Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D.
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61. Bharter Karusilpa, by Mr. Asitkumar Haldar.
62. Banga Sahityer Katha, by Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

I. INDIAN CULTURE

A Study of the Vedanta, being a study at once critical, comparative and constructive, by Dr. Sarojkumar Das, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.), with a Foreword by Prof. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, M.A., D.Litt. Second Edition. Demy 8vo pp. xiv + 404. 1937. Rs. 4-0.

"The author insists upon a co-operation of the intellectual and the moral, and emphasises the practical attitude of the philosophy of life as incorporated in the Vedanta. His arguments are clear and precise, his descriptions vivid and full of meaning, his language fluent and expressive. His knowledge of Western philosophy is such as to make him fully competent for the task of giving a systematic and comparative historical study of the Vedanta. . . ."—*The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*.

"A very clear analysis, by a leading Indian thinker, of the philosophical system known as the Vedānta. . . . Dr. S. K. Das well sustains the pre-eminence of Indian thought in the world of philosophy."—*The Times Literary Supplement*.

"This book, made up of the twelve Sreegopal Basumallik Fellowship Lectures for 1929, gives a very clear analysis of the Vedānta. Dr. S. K. Das brings out the fact that the change from the Rigvedic to the Upanishadic age had a momentous influence in the religious history of mankind. It merited 'a spiritual renaissance in ancient India that can be compared with the transition from the bondage of Leviticus to the freedom of the Gospels.' "—*The Inquirer*.

"The Basumallik Fellowship Lectures for 1929 delivered by Dr. Das have been published in the form of the attractive volume before us. . . . A sound knowledge of European Philosophy in its most recent developments has been fully utilised for the purpose of comparative and critical exposition. The book will, without a doubt, be appreciated by all students of Advaita Vedānta."—*The Indian Review*.

"Your criticism and appreciation of Bertrand Russell's 'Free Man's Worship' seems to me exceptionally good. I hope it may have wide circulation as it deserves."—*Prof. J. H. Muirhead*.

"The learned author's attempt to assign to Systematic Vedānta its proper place in the history of human thought is characterised by great acumen and eloquent penetration, and it is sure to interest every serious student of General Philosophy."—*Prof. Sten Konow*.

"Such a just and perceptive guide as Dr. Das is . . . of great value and the more so to Western students because he is intimate with European philosophy . . . we could not wish for a more clarifying or enlightening guide from the valleys of the Rigveda in which 'the Many' predominates over 'the One' to the ultimate heights of the Upanishads where 'the One' exists eternally unconditioned by 'the Many.'"—*Hugh I. A. Fausset*.

The Aryan Trail in Iran and India, by Nagendranath Ghose, M.A., B.L. Demy 8vo pp. 347. Rs. 3-8.

The matters investigated in this book formed the subject of a course of University Extension Lectures which the author delivered in the Department of Anthropology of this University. This is a naturalistic study of the Vedic hymns and the Avesta.

Pragaitihasik Mahenjo Daro (in Bengali), by Mr. Kunja-govinda Goswami, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 186. Rs. 2-8.

The book contains a detailed description of the antiquities and annals of the pre-historic Mahenjo Daro, a relic of Indian civilization, five thousand years before. A vivid commentary with illustration on the life of the people living in the Indus Valley at the time with minute analysis and exposition of their customs and rituals, their culture and civilization, their mode of living, etc., will be found in the book. *This is the first book written in Bengali about Mahenjo Daro.*

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor, University of Dacca : 'I have gone through your book on Mohenjo-Daro with great interest. You have given a very clear but critical account of the many interesting finds in Mohenjo-Daro. Your book conveys in a very clear language an interesting picture of the civilisation that flourished in the Indus Valley about five thousand years ago. I welcome the book as a very valuable addition to Bengali literature, and many people not sufficiently acquainted with English would, I am sure, derive great benefit from your book.'

Cultural Relations between India and Java (Readership Lectures), by A. J. Bernet Kempers, Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 35. As. 8.

Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma, by Niharranjan Ray, M.A. (Cal.), Dr. Lett. et Phil. (Leiden), Dip. Lib. (Lond.). 1936. Rs. 2-0.

Attempts have been made in this book to explain one of the many aspects of the culture-complex of early Indo-Burmese history; at the same time it seeks to initiate another chapter in the history of the expansion of Indian religions and culture outside India's natural geographical boundaries.

The subject is but little known, and very little has so far been done to elucidate the vague general ideas that exist today amongst scholars about it. A large number of original sources and source-materials have here been brought to light for the first time; there will be found many instances where new interpretations of old materials have been put forward. Thus the

author has been able to infer the prevalence of the Sarvastivada in Old Prome, the definite existence of Mahayanist and Tantrik texts in the monastic libraries of Upper Burma, and of hitherto unrecognised representations of gods and goddesses belonging to the Mahayana and its allied pantheons.

" . . . your work is far in advance of mine....."—*G. E. Harvey, I.C.S. (ret'd.), Professor of Burmese, Oxford University, and author of History of Burma.*

" . . . has by a thorough and reliable research laid a solid foundation for our knowledge of and insight into the position of Buddhism in Burma in relation to that in Indo-China and Indonesia....."—*N. J. Krom, Professor of Indo-Japanese History and Archaeology, Leiden University.*

" . . . a conscientious and well-informed scholar.....you have shown in it a marked ability for historical research.....above all you have shown a remarkable degree of judgment and caution in drawing your conclusions... your book may be regarded as an important contribution to our knowledge."—*J. Ph. Vogel, Prof. of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Leiden.*

Paniniya-Sikṣa or the Śikṣā-Vedāṅga ascribed to Pāṇini, edited by Mr. Manomohan Ghosh, M.A., Kavyatirtha, of the Calcutta University. Demy 8vo pp. lxvi + 90 (*bound in cloth*). 1938. Rs. 3-0.

This text being the most ancient work on Vedic (Indo Aryan) phonetics (*Śikṣā*) has been critically edited in all its five recensions with an introduction, translation and notes together with its two commentaries. In the introduction the editor discusses among other things briefly the evolution of the six branches of auxiliary Vedic studies known as the six Vedāṅgas and has treated in full the origin and development of the study of Phonetics (*Śikṣā*) which has been considered one of the important branches of modern Linguistics. Besides this the editor discusses here the antiquity of Pāṇini and throws some fresh light on the date of this great grammarian who is supposed to be the author of the *Śikṣā*.

II. ANCIENT INDIAN TEXTS

* **Vedic Selections**, edited by a Board of eminent scholars. Royal 8vo pp. lvii + 449. 1938. Rs. 5-0.

Manu Smṛiti, by Mahamahopadhyay Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt.

The work is an English translation of the commentary of Medhatithi on the Institutes of Manu. The two editions that had already been published, *viz.*, one by V. N. Mandlik and the other by G. R. Gharpure, being considered avowedly defective on account of a hopeless muddling of the text, Dr. Jha collected manuscripts from various places; and, with the help of these manuscripts, made out an intelligible text, and then proceeded with the work of translation.

Vol. I, Part I—Comprising Discourse I and 28 verses of Discourse II. Royal 8vo pp. 266. 1920. Rs. 6.

Vol. I, Part II—Comprising verses XXIX to end of Discourse II. Royal 8vo pp. 290. 1921. Rs. 6.

Vol. II, Part I—Comprising the whole of Discourse III. Royal 8vo pp. 304. 1921. Rs. 6.

Vol. II, Part II—Comprising Discourse IV. Royal 8vo pp. 208. 1921. Rs. 6.

Index to Vols. I and II. Royal 8vo pp. 148. 1922. Re. 1-8.

Vol. III, Part I—Comprising Discourses V and VI. Royal 8vo pp. 278. 1922. Rs. 6.

Vol. III, Part II—Comprising Discourse VII and the Index to the whole of Vol. III. Royal 8vo pp. 206. 1924. Rs. 7.

Vol. IV, Part I—Comprising a portion of Discourse VIII. Royal 8vo pp. 252. 1925. Rs. 8.

Vol. IV, Part II—Comprising Discourse VIII and Index to Vol. IV. Royal 8vo pp. 238. 1926. Rs. 7-8.

Vol. V—Comprising Discourses IX to XII. Royal 8vo pp. 709. 1926. Rs. 12-8.

Manu Smriti, Notes, by the same author.

Besides printing the five volumes of Manu Smriti comprising translation of Medhatithi, it was decided to print separate volumes comprising *Notes* by the same author. The notes have been divided into three parts: Part I—*Textual*—dealing with the readings of the texts and allied matters; Part II—*Explanatory*—containing an account of the various explanations of Manu's text, provided not only by its several commentators, but also by the more important of the legal digests, such as the Mitakshara, the Mayukha, and the rest; Part III—*Comparative*—setting forth what the other Smritis—Apastamba, Baudhayana, etc.—have got to say on every one of the more important topics dealt with by Manu.

Part I—*Textual*. Royal 8vo pp. 569. 1924. Rs. 12-0.

Part II—*Explanatory*. Royal 8vo pp. 870. 1925. Rs. 15-0.

Part III—*Comparative*. Royal 8vo pp. 937. 1929.
Rs. 15.

Whole Set (including Notes). Rs. 50.

Inscriptions of Asoka, by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, and S. N. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Asst. Professor of Indian History, Calcutta University. Crown 8vo pp. 104. 1920. Rs. 4-4.

The various texts of the rock, pillar, cave and other inscriptions are given in parallel lines to enable the student to compare the different readings at a glance.

Barhut Inscriptions, edited and translated with critical notes, by B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.), and Kumar Gangananda Sinha, M.A. Crown 4to pp. 139. 1926. Rs. 3-0.

E. J. Thomas, Under-Librarian, Cambridge University Library: "I find the book an extremely useful one, both because it makes accessible an important collection of inscriptions, and also for the great amount of learning and research which the authors have embodied in it.

"The work constitutes a long step forward both as regards our actual knowledge of the inscriptions, as well as in the grammatical analysis and the palaeographical studies."

H. Ui, of the Tohoku Imperial University, Japan : ".....In the work the inscriptions are critically investigated, accurately explained and well arranged, so that the work is highly important for the study of the paleo-graphical and linguistical development and specially the history of early Buddhism."

E. Washburn Hopkins, of the Yale University : "I have gone carefully through the volume of Dr. Benimadhab Barua and regard it as a most useful contribution well worthy of publication. The arrangement of the inscriptions in accord with their subject-matter is a great convenience and the explanatory notes are all that can be desired."

Prof. Dr. F. O. Schrader, of Kiel : ".....This is a useful publication full of interesting details on which both its authors and the University may be congratulated. The printing too is admirably done."

Prof. Hermann Jacoby : "...many students will be thankful for the various information in Section III, partly reproduced from different sources and partly supplied by the Editors themselves."

L. D. Barnett : "The book shews great learning and industry, and will certainly be useful to students."

Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves, by Prof. Benimadhab Barua, M.A., D.Lit. Royal 8vo pp. 324. Rs. 7-8.

A critical edition of fourteen ancient Brahmi inscriptions and a table of Brahmi alphabet, the inscriptions including the well-known Hathigumpha inscription of King Kharavela. A comprehensive work which contains exhaustive references to all previous publications on the subject, and is calculated to create a real landmark for the new readings, and especially for the notes dealing with the personal history of Kharavela of Orissa, his place in history, and his imperishable works of art and architecture in the rough-hewn Orissan caves on the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Hills.

III. ART AND ICONOGRAPHY

Vishnudharmottara, by Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Ph.D. *Second and Revised Edition*. Royal 8vo pp. 130. 1926. Rs. 3-0.

It contains one of the oldest and most exhaustive treatises on ancient Indian painting, its technique, subject-matter and form.

Art and Archæology Abroad, by Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Paris). Demy 8vo pp. 132 + 20 illustrations. Rs. 2-0.

The author who had been invited by the International Educational Institute (under the Carnegie Foundation, New York) to deliver a course of lectures on Indian Art and Archaeology during 1930-31 visited the important centres of Europe and America and studied the special arrangements and provisions for the collection and co-ordination of the data of arts and archæology as well as the methods of teaching of those subjects in some of those places. The outcome of these studies undertaken by him is this useful report which is of immense help to the students as well as the teachers of this branch of Indology.

Brahmanical Gods in Burma (A chapter of Indian Art and Iconography), by Niharranjan Ray, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 106, with 23 plates. 1932. Rs. 2-4.

This monograph is an outcome of the studies and researches made by the author in the domain of Burmese Art, Archaeology and History. The materials were collected by him during the archæological tours that he had made throughout Burma in 1927 and 1929. He has made a detailed analytical study of the numerous Brahmanical images scattered all over the Peninsula and has tried to bring out fully their iconographic significance and their bearing upon early Indo-Burmese historical and cultural relations.

"... He describes images of Visnu, Siva, Brahma, Ganesa and Surya, and the well-reproduced photographs are all the more valuable through his descriptions being based upon the actual objects. In particular his chapter on the art and historical background is well worthy of study."—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London)*.

"Burma is professedly Buddhist, but in this monograph the author examines how far, in spite of its Buddhism, Burma has been affected by its contiguity with India, and to what extent it has submitted to the powerful pressure of Brahmanism. . . . Despite the scanty harvest gleaned with such industry in this field of study the work was well worth undertaking, and the author has dealt competently with his material and advances reasons why Brahmanism, which had success in Further India, failed to make itself felt nearer at hand. There is likely to be little disagreement with the general conclusions which are presented clearly and succinctly."—*Times Literary Supplement (London)*.

"... The book is the first of its kind written by an Indian scholar, and we can well say that he has performed his task creditably . . . is certainly a successful attempt at elucidating an important aspect of early cultural relations between India and Burma."—*The Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta)*.

"Ce petit volume est une première tentative pour rassembler les données dont on dispose sur l'iconographie brahmanique de la Birmanie. . . ."—

Bulletin L'Ecole Française de Extrême Orient (Hanoi, Fr. Indo-Chine).

"... Burma chapter of Hindu colonial history has long been neglected. We welcome the beginning made by Mr. Ray."—*K. P. Jayaswal in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (Patna)*.

"... He has collected an amount of important facts hitherto ignored and scattered, and dealt with them in a critical and thoughtful manner, which deserves the highest appreciation."—*M. Louis Finot (Paris)*.

" . . . The book is not only a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Indian Art and Iconography, but it is also historically important as showing the influence of Hindu religion and Hindu culture in Burma in mediaeval times."—*E. J. Rapson (Cambridge)*.

" . . . It seems to me to be a very good and enlightening piece of original research which breaks new ground. . ."—*J. D. Barnett (British Museum, London)*.

" . . . I have found it to be a very creditable and useful work that adds a great deal to our knowledge of Indo-Burmese Art and Archaeology. . . I request you to convey to the learned author my sincere compliments on the scholar-like spirit exhibited in his study. . ."—*Sten Konow (Oslo, Norway) in a letter to the Registrar, Calcutta University*.

" . . . It is a very interesting and instructive book, and all the more valuable as it treats in a scholarly manner of a new subject of which hitherto very little has become known."—*M. Winternitz (Prague, Czechoslovakia)*.

" . . . I have read the work with real pleasure. It is clear and effectively written, and the main conclusions attained as to the position of Brahmanism in Burma seem to be successfully maintained. . ."—*A. Berriedale Keith (Edinburgh)*.

" . . . The book deals with an almost untrodden subject. . . It deals not only with the images of gods and goddesses from iconographical point of view but also throws a great deal of light on the nature and spread of Brahmanism in that country. The author has gone into the subject very deeply and his treatment seems to be exhaustive and complete. It is a welcome addition to our knowledge about the progress of Brahmanical religion outside India proper. . ."—*R. C. Majumdar (Dacca University)*.

Prefaces (Lectures on Art subjects), by Prof. Shahid Suhrawardy. Demy 8vo pp. 273. Rs. 3-0.

Most of these papers are lectures read out by the author to students at various intervals at the Osmania University, the Visvabharati, the Lucknow Exhibition, 1936 (Fine Arts Pavilion) and at other places.

IV. HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY

1. ANCIENT INDIA

Chronology of Ancient India (From the times of the Rig-Vedic King Divodāsa to Chandragupta Maurya, with glimpses into the Political History of the period), by Sitanath Pradhan, M.Sc., Ph.D., Brihaspati. Royal 8vo pp. 291 + 30. 1927. Rs. 6-0.

In this extremely interesting and erudite work on the Chronology and Political History of Vedic and Buddhist India, enormous masses of evidence derived from Vedic, Epic, Puranic, Buddhistic, Jain, Epigraphic and other sources have been collected, compared and contrasted. The late Dr. Pradhan discovered the long-expected thread through the bewildering labyrinth of Vedic Chronology and handled the question of Nanda-Sisunāga-Pradyota-Bimbisārian Chronology and political history perhaps with the most accurate critical skill and precision. This pioneer work, completed in 1921, was submitted to the University of Calcutta as his Doctorate thesis and contains entirely new findings in almost every page of the book and the criticisms of the positions of Pargiter, Macdonell, Keith, Tilak, K. P. Jayaswal, Abinash Chandra Das, D. R. Bhandarkar, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Fleet, etc., reflect a high credit on the author. It is an invaluable and indispensable companion and guide to all students, professors and lovers of Ancient Indian History and Culture.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee : 'An erudite thesis,' 'of no small credit,' 'of much excellence,' 'of special excellence,' 'extremely gratifying to note,' 'such a learned thesis,' 'has thrown unexpected yet welcome light on the political history of the Pre-Asokan Period,' 'original research of unquestionable merit,' 'appraised by the investigators of the first rank,' etc., etc.

MM. Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A. D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University : "It is refreshing to find that the writer has not... been slow to strike out new lines for himself and examine theories which had hitherto been regarded as almost sacrosanct."

Dr. M. Winternitz, Ph.D., Prague, Czechoslovakia : "The ancient chronology of India is a thorny subject, and the book will, no doubt, evoke much criticism. But the author has brought together valuable data from a vast amount of literature which will remain useful, even if the chronology may not be accepted by scholars in many cases."

T. Jolly, Professor of Sanskrit, Würzburg, Germany : "This is a very learned work, abounding in new theories and discussions of old ones and in original Sanskrit quotations. The author has found that most of the Kings and Rishis of the Rigveda are mentioned in the Epics and the Puranas, etc., as well, and has based a new chronology of the Rigvedic Period on this observation. His genealogies of Indian dynasties are very interesting."

Dr. I. D. Barnett, Ph.D., London : "Mr. Pradhan's object is to correct and as far as possible to bring into synchronistic connection the ancient pedigrees of Kings and others which are handed down in Vedic, Epic and Puranic literature. . . . He deals accordingly with the Vedic Divodāsa, his contemporaries, the Aikṣvāka Daśaratha, etc., . . . and he then essays to determine the succession in Magadha from Bimbisāra to Chandragupta. On the basis of these conclusions and reckoning an average of 28 years for a generation he fixes the Mahābhārata war at c. 1152 B.C. confirming the result by astronomical calculations, and makes c. 1500 B.C. the starting point of the later Vedic period. . . . He moreover demolishes the Vedic Chronology of Dr. A. C. Das and even criticizes unfavourably the astronomical arguments set forth by the late Lokamanya Tilak in his *Orion*—which shows much courage and independence. His work shows immense industry and ingenuity and there is certainly 'something in it.' . . . The attempt to adjust and harmonise the traditional pedigrees is worth making and Mr. Pradhan's essay is an energetic step in that direction."

Dr. L. D. Barnett (again) : " The book ' Chronology of Ancient India ' seems to me to be a remarkably able work and its general conclusions are reasonable and probable, though, naturally there may be some difference of opinion on some points."

Prof. Vanamali Chakravarti, M.A. : " Your work would do credit to any European savant working in a first-class European university. . . The honour of writing the first scientific book on Vedo-Puranic Chronology belongs to you and not to Pargiter. . . I note with great pleasure your happy identification of the R̥gvedic R̥ṣi Mudgala (Rv. X, 102) with the husband of Indrasenā, the daughter of King Nala of Nīṣadha; and of Divodāsa, King of Kāśi with Atithigva Divodāsa of the Vedas, who together with the Aikṣvaka Daśaratha, quelled the Dasa King Sambara; your resolution of the Ikṣvāku dynasty from Daśaratha downwards, into two branches pointing out that kings mentioned just after Hiranyanābha Kausalya, were the descendants of the Srāvastī King Lava is a masterpiece in the reconstruction of Ancient Indian History; your determination of the date of the great Bhārata battle at about the middle of the twelfth century B.C. and of events of the Rāmāyaṇa as occurring about three hundred years earlier would provide the future historian with sources to build up ancient Indian Chronology. . . . Your assignment of Vedic Janaka and Yājñavalkya to five generations after Srikṛishṇa and Arjuna seems beyond challenge. Your attempt to prove that a portion of the Deccan was occupied by the R̥gvedic Aryans, and that Aṅga, Kośala, Magadha, Videha, etc., were colonized by them rather early, your explanation of the mythology of Ahalyā and Indra, your emendation of not a few individual errors in some of the names of Puranic kings, notably in the name ' Abhiṣṭ,' your bold and well-established finding that the Harivaṁśa does contain wrong synchronism about Brahmadaṭṭa and Pratapa, and that the Purāṇas are wrong in making Kṛta of Dvimiṭṭha's line the pupil of Hiranyanābha Kausalya—these and many other points will be of absorbing interest to scholars. I immensely enjoy your courageous refutation of ' the Orion ' as well as of Mr. A. C. Das's geological antiquity of the R̥gvedic period which might be based on N. B. Pavjee's book ' Aryavartik Home.' In the post-Vedic period, your identification of Śiśunāga with Nandivardhana and of Kākavarṇa with Mahā-Nandin is really difficult to reject. I am sure no honest historian will be able in future to pass by your great production."

Asoka (*Carmichael Lectures, 1923*), by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B. Second Edition; *Revised and Enlarged*. Demy 8vo pp. 428. 1932. Rs. 5-0.

In this book the author has set forth his views about the Buddhist monarch after a careful and systematic study for a quarter of a century not only of the inscriptions of Asoka but also of the valuable translations and notes on these records by distinguished scholars in the field of Ancient Indian History.

Dr. Truman Michelson says in *Jour. Amer. Ori. Soc.*, Vol. 46, pp. 258-59 :—

" In this connection it may be observed that the notes on the translations are ordinarily very full, so that even the publication of the new edition of C.I.I. will not render this part of Bhandarkar's work superfluous; and it cannot be denied that occasionally he has made real contributions in the interpretation (e.g., the sense of *śamāja*)."

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar says in *An. Bhan. Ori. Res. Ins.*, Vol. VII, p. 169 :—

“ A careful perusal of the book enables one to visualise the pious Monarch and his manifold religious and administrative activities to a much better extent than had been hitherto possible with the Aśokan literature already in the field.”

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NEW TENDENCIES IN GERMAN SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY *

DR. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Docteur en géographie honoris causa (Teheran)

ABOUT 1890 German academicians used to think that philosophy had come to an end and all that remained was but to study the history of philosophy. But today the situation has changed, says a paper published in the volume entitled *Aus Fuenfzig Jahren deutscher Wissenschaft* (From Fifty Years of German Science), Berlin, 1930. It is to be understood that philosophy has been established once more fully in its own scientific right. Today it is no longer the naturalistic and relativistic tendency but the idealistic and absolutist that is predominant. The autonomy of the spirit, its speciality and its laws, its freedom and self-direction are the topics of philosophy at the present moment. And in this transformation of philosophical discipline a pioneer is Dilthey (1833-1911). It is Dilthey who combated the naturalistic philosophy of history and sociology. "Back to Fichte and Hegel" is the slogan in contemporary thought.

* Résumé of a talk at *Bangiya Jarman Vidya Samsad* (Bengali Society of German Culture) on March 20, 1939. The material is available in the author's *Political Philosophies Since 1905*, Vol II; *The Epoch of Neo-Democracy and Neo-Socialism* (1929-38), in the press.

According to Dilthey the Renaissance and the Reformation are not to be distinguished from modern times which continue them. The Middle Ages from which the Renaissance and the Reformation issue are described by Dilthey as representing a progress from the conditions of Greek and Roman antiquities. From ancient metaphysics to modern anthropology the world passes through medieval theology, and this movement is according to him a movement of progress in the straight line and continuous direction. Spengler differs from Dilthey in considering the modern times to be in retrogression although agreeing with him in recognizing the progress of the Middle Ages. Dilthey does not believe in the universality of historic conscience. According to Kant conscience is the categorical imperative and the sovereign good which affects all the human wills universally. But Dilthey believes that there is no good outside the will. Every good alleged to exist outside the will, *i.e.*, every good in itself is only an empty hypostasia of what resides in the will. A duty, simple to discover by everybody and identical everywhere, which will lead to an obligation equally simple and universal, does not exist. In Dilthey's analysis, what exists is the determining motives of human action, and these are the only contents of moral conscience. The diverse ethical systems contradict one another only when each one professes to represent the totality of ethics. There should be no contradiction and they will supplement one another, says Dilthey, if they are considered as different parts of this ethics. The moral organization and the absolute manner with which the conviction apprehends the good are invariable. In other words, the moral law is unconditioned and absolute. But the world of values and the interpretation of the moral organization are variable factors.

From the standpoint of French sociology Erich Unger's *L'Evolution de la Morale en Allemagne et le point de vue de la sociologie française* (Paris)¹ examines all the different schools of ethics in Germany from Kant to Simmel and observes that with hardly any exception the methodology of German ethics is non-sociological. The considerations of *devoir-être*, *i.e.*, what ought to be, have almost entirely eclipsed in German ethical philosophy the considerations of what is, the moral fact. In their regard for the *a priori*, the value, the norm, the spirit and the idea they have practically ignored the most

¹ A paper in the *Revue Philosophique* (Paris), March-April, 1935.

fundamental character of moral life, that morality is *fait d'ici-bas*, a fact of here below.

The French sociological school, on the other hand, is interested in the physico-moral experience, just the items that have been inadequately distinguished by German philosophers. The German investigations are based on the antithesis between nature and spirit, nature and history, nature and culture, nature and society. Such antitheses were created by the romanticists as well as their followers, *e.g.*, Dilthey, Windelband and Rickert. All these go back to the Kantian antithesis, nature *vs.* morality. It is by denying this antithesis that French sociology has commenced its work. For instance, in *La Morale et la Science des Moeurs* (Morality and the Science of Manners) Lévy-Bruhl defines sociology as a novel stage on the way which carries into the sphere of nature the fields which were not considered its part until then. It is nothing short of the annexation of social facts to the reign of nature.

It is entirely illegitimate to place on the same level a morality which comes out of one world, one age, one people or of one tradition, all of which are well determined, and an eternal nature, a starred heaven which has seen and will see this morality as many other moralities. Morality cannot by any means have the same dignity as Nature. But this is what Kant did by establishing, first, the antithesis between morality and nature and, then, an equation between the two. This position is due to his ultra-rationalism, the desire for symmetry, which characterizes eighteenth century thought.

German educational ideals in the first years of the present century were governed more or less by works like Dilthey's *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung* (Experience and Poetry), 1906. In contrast with the encyclopædic burden of subjects which dominated the school life of the nineteenth century came the dominance of experiences at random. According to Eduard Spranger's paper in *Aus Fuenfzig Jahren Deutscher Wissenschaft* (Berlin, 1930) this impressionism in pedagogics has subsequently been replaced by *Ausdruckspädagogik*, the pedagogics of expressions. But this expressionism cannot be the last word in the educational system. The ideology is now moving towards the ethical. Every individual has to decide in the last analysis for the moral obligations. The eternal aim of education is to awaken the inner powers of the individual which are adapted to the objective laws of the moral and cultural structure of the community. There is

a number of original phenomena which once experienced fully by the soul can never disappear from it. It is on such simple and eternal elements that the youth is built up. The subject of study, the methods of application and so forth grow naturally in him as a matter of course. One's own form, individuality—the foundation of eternal structural laws, has to be discovered for every person by the educator.

Hans Freyer, author of *Soziologie als Wirklichkeits-wissenschaft* (Sociology as the Science of Reality) Leipzig, 1930, and *Theorie des objektiven Geistes* (Theory of the Objective Spirit), 1932, is methodologically under the influence of Hegel. The contributions of Freyer carry forward the philosophy of history as represented by Lorenz von Stein (1815-1890) and focus attention on social forms as the forms of life.² In contrast with von Wiese, who in his *System der Allgemeinen Soziologie*, Munich, 1933, argues that sociology's business consists in analysing the interhuman (social) relations and social processes or forms and that this science should emancipate itself from all anthropological, historical and other treatments. Freyer rejects the *ueberzeitlich* or timeless categories and emphasizes the linking up of class, city, community, etc., to the epochs. In his judgment all life is historical. He is, therefore, interested supremely in the dynamic, the growth and the development. The analysis of the present order of society and the investigation of its inner structure are to him more important than the merely formal analysis of the social relations. Contact with contemporary politics is a chief feature of his scientific thought. Indeed, in Vol. I of the present author's *Political Philosophies Since 1905* (Madras, 1928) Freyer's *Der Staat* (The State), 1926, was analyzed as embodying some messages calculated to promote the remaking of man.

Writing on "Inward Veracity" in the *Religions of the World*, Vol. II (Papers for the International Parliament of Religions held by the Ramakrishna Centenary Committee, Calcutta, March, 1937), Cay von Brockdorff, observes as follows:

"For thousands of years people were wont to say that there was nothing new under the sun, and such vague and highly popular phrases have even been repeated, and emphatically repeated, by philosophers. It is certainly true that in all philosophizing the

² H. Nitzschke's lecture on Three German Sociologists (Toennies, Freyer and von Wiese) at the Bengali Society of German Culture published in the *Calcutta Review* for May, 1934. See J. von Schmid: *Hoofdlijnen der Sociologie* (Amsterdam, 1937), pp. 175-77.

'right' combination of fixed and settled meanings of designations plays an important part, but does that warrant our subscribing to F. Max Mueller's opinion: 'All philosophy can be called a war between the old and the new meanings of words' (*Das Denken im Lichte der Sprache*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 557)? No, it is not really a controversy over words; entirely new ways and possibilities of thought and new methods remould man's mental attitude."

"We must repeatedly revise what we have learnt, says von Brockdorff, "that is to say, our striving after veracity can only take the form of working and co-operating in the progress of the natural sciences and the humanities. In this connection all truth would only be historical, not absolute Truth is co-operation."

Man's views and notions about truth and reality are taken by v. Brockdorff to mature but slowly; they are only to be found in scientific progress, and in them he is aware of unavoidable sources of error and also of the limits that are set to the possibilities of perception. Participation in such research, however, can produce a love of truth of an almost religious fervour, *i.e.*, can produce a frame of mind which will exclude all toleration of what is obviously false and all sympathy with what is irresponsibly asserted, and which will simply demand that war be declared on what is manifestly untruthful. That would be a good, a really religious war, a sign of a mature mind.

At the International Congress of Population, Berlin, 1935, the Nazi demographic policy is described at length by Wilhelm Frick. He refers, first, to the German Labour Front, the Act for the regulation of national work, compulsory labour service measures, then to the marriage, loans and sterilization Acts regarding family life. The economic measures relating to farmers, agricultural loans, inheritance of landed estates, etc. are discussed. About the promotion of large families (*Kinderreiche Familien*) Frick refers to the measures calculated to combat unemployment, and facilities provided for by the income tax legislation. Attention is invited also to the medical examinations, moral considerations and the prevention of diseases. The paper is available in *Bevoelkerungsfragen* edited by Harmsen and Lohse (Munich, 1936). F. Burgdoerfer's *Volk ohne Jugnd* (People without Youth), Berlin, 1932, is an inspirer of the large family movement in Germany. In 1927 Korherr's *Geburtenrueckgang* (Decline in the Birthrate) had been published in the *Sueddeutsche Monatshefte* (Munich) and served to set the ball rolling.

Leopold von Wiese is not in favour of the socialization of religion.³ "Today there is a tendency," says he, "totally to transfer the significance of human existence to the earthly world, indeed, not often to the sphere of the individual man, but mostly to the great social structures, particularly to the nation, the people and the race. It may not be necessary, in order to make the individual more unselfish and high-minded, to transfer the essence of existence to the supernatural world. The great social generation-structures outlasting millenniums are so constituted that the faith in them evolves the same ethical power as the religions do. The advantage of such a worldly and political conviction, compared with a metaphysical religion is its greater clarity. From there a greater veracity may arise."

Indeed, today the faith in a supernatural world is not in the same degree superseded (as in the nineteenth century) by a materialistic individualism as by the deification of social institutions. It is obvious that in this way the individuals are more forced into the service of social tasks and community life than by any other system. The utilization of personal power for the purposes of the state and the people makes for greater progress.

What concerns the individual in the matter of a purely earthly-social aiming may satisfy the intellect for a short while because of the greater tangibility of the ends, says von Wiese. Besides, the depreciation of human personality to a mere mean tool, created for the service of earthly social structures, makes man inwardly poor, narrow and hard. Therefore, also, his social value becomes diminished, and the great social structures grown so as to form the very centres of ethical life are gradually reduced in efficiency. Even the advantage of greater clarity proves delusive, because the social structures lose their significance when they become self-sufficient.

The *System der Allgemeinen Soziologie* by von Wiese has appeared in English under the title of *Systematic Sociology* (New York), as the joint work of himself and Becker. In their analysis the "marginal man" is the result of individuation in social contacts. He is a human being controlled in part by character-attitudes deriving from a "sacred structure" (e.g., peasant, village, pre-literate community), and in part differentiated and individuated by the influence of a "secular structure" (e.g., large metropolitan centre), but not assimilated to those

³ A paper for the *Religions of the World* (Calcutta, 1938) Vol. I, pp. 237-38.

portions of that structure (empirically speaking) in which attitudes deriving from sacred structures prevail.⁴ In other words, he is at home nowhere; he belongs, in the full sense, to neither the primary nor the secondary culture.

Some of the possible characteristics of such a marginal man may be noted; they are of appreciable importance. One of those most frequently manifest is continuance of the state of crisis because a satisfactory adjustment has not been found; he is in a condition of heightened self-consciousness that frequently leads to aggressive self-assertion if his temperamental attitudes so incline him. If he is not so inclined, but has creative ability, he may achieve fairly adequate or even successful accordance by activity in the field of personal expression; for example, many great poets such as Heine, Shelley, Poe and Dante, have been in one way or another marginal men, although not always a result of sacred strangeness. Some struggle within the personality, however, was at work, and this is of the essence of the marginal man.

Such persons often play a large part in accelerating social change because of their compensatory activity in advocating and instituting changes in the current social standards (*mores*); the mental mobility, the innovating individuation of the fixated marginal man, is, as it were, a permanent neophilia. There is not only inability to resist the new, but aggressive activity in furthering the new. This is frequently exemplified in the advocacy of changes in the political or economic orders by fixated marginal men; the changes advocated may sometimes be "revisionist," but they are more frequently "catastrophic."

The ethno-sociologist Richard Thurnwald exhibits the "Drama of Mankind" in the *Religions of the World* (Papers for the International Parliament of Religions held by the Ramakrishna Centenary Committee, Calcutta, 1937), Vol. II. "I need not, in our age," says he, "depict the infection caused by egocentric and narrow-minded attitudes upon nations and groups. Has it been different in other epochs of history? As far as I can see, essentially not." But there have been periods of crises alternating with more settled and quiet periods. Both these periods are characterized by virtues and vices. Quiet times indulge in debauchery and squandering, and in prejudice and rigidity of thought, while periods of transition are filled with destruction not only of the

⁴ The distinction between "sacred structure" and "secular structure" is derived from Toeanies: *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Leipzig, 8th edition, 1935) pp 8-7.

obsolete but also of things of permanent value, and are saturated with fanatic struggles not only for ideas but also for illusions.

We only wonder how quickly morals and religion were restored after the cyclone had gone. The forces intrinsic in man cannot for any length of time be obscured. The destruction of certain forms of culture and its morals may be useful for the adaptation of life to new conditions of existence. Thurnwald believes that monstrous and dreadful power of evil, and prodigious and stupendous power for good, are both innate in man.

A position like this would be quite in keeping with the dualistic psychology of the Italian sociologist Pareto's *Mind and Society*.

F. Seldte's *Sozialpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Social Policy in the Third Reich), Berlin, 1935, discusses among other things the buildings for the industries and industrial workers such as have been projected since 1933. The rationalization of raw materials is one of the items emphasized in the planned economy of Nazi Germany.

In a lecture before the *Bund der Freunde der Technischen Hochschule* (Munich), 1935, President Schacht of the *Reichsbank* invites attention to the dangers of over-emphasis on the international division of labour. The requirements and ideals of the national economy are stressed. L. Siebert's *Die neuen Wege der deutschen Wirtschaft* (The New Ways of German Economy), Munich, 1936 and M. Frauendorfer's *Idee und Gestalt der staendischen Neuordnung*. (The Idea and Form of New Order in the Class-Structure), Berlin, 1936, describe the economic-political and socio-technocratic transformations in Germany under the Hitler regime.

E. Wiskemann's *Der Weg der deutschen Volkswirtschaftslehre* (The Way of German Economics), Berlin, 1937, finds the principles of Nazi (national socialistic) economics in application in all countries. In the struggle against *laissez faire* economics, says he, "stehen wir Deutsche nicht allein" (we Germans are not alone). Boucke the American economist and Keynes the British are described by him as exponents of the theory which promulgates the disappearance of the free trade period. They have but recognized a state of things which is confirmed by the economic policy of all countries, says he.

Der Vierjahresplan (Berlin), the monthly journal dealing with the Four-Year Plan introduced by Goering in January, 1937, publishes regular reports about the artificial creation of raw materials by engineers and chemists. The *Schaffendes Volk* (Creative People)

Exhibition organized at Duesseldorf makes the people and the market familiar with synthetic rubber, *Zellwolle* (fibre wool), elimination of wastes, utilization of bye-products, etc. Economic *Autarkie* (autarchy) or self-sufficiency, corresponding somewhat as it does to Indian *Swadeshi*, is a prominent feature of the German Four-Year Plan as in the Italian economy since 1935-36. For Germany this is really the commencement of the second Four-Year Plan. The first Four-Year Plan may be said to have been inaugurated in 1933 with the establishment of the Hitler-State. Paul Hoevel's *Grundfragen deutscher Wirtschaftspolitik* (Fundamental Problems of German Economic Policy), Berlin, 1935, describes the economic developments of Germany in the most diverse directions since the world economic crisis of 1929-32.

Anton Reithinger says in *Das Wirtschaftliche Gesicht Europas* (The Economic Face of Europe), Stuttgart, 1936, that the Great War has seriously damaged the dominant position of Europe in two continents, America and Asia. The industrial output of the extra-European world has already gone beyond the position of 1927-29 and its foreign trade that of 1913-14. But Europe's indices indicate much lower levels. The ideology of a Pan Europa has materially suffered on account of the recent international incidents between the European peoples. But the necessity of establishing an agreement about their fundamental interests as well as the conception of the community of their destiny are becoming prominent on account of the progress of events in the Far East and the increasing separation of the North American continent from Europe. The fundamental economic-political and socio-economic problem of Europe is envisaged by Reithinger as consisting in the diversity of Eastern and Southern Europe (with its lack of capital and low standard of life combined with over-population) from Western and Northern Europe (with its low rates of interest, high wages and under-population). Cf. Delaisi: *Les deux Europes* (Paris, 1929) and Woytinsky: *Die Tatsachen und Zahlen Europas* (Berlin, 1930).

The study of heredity has been acquiring a special prominence in the entire range of social philosophy. According to Mezger's *Kriminalpolitik auf Kriminologischer Grundlage* (Crime-policy on Criminological Foundation), Stuttgart, 1934, an extreme environmental or sociological theory is in its crime-policy unacceptable to the totalitarian state. The individual is responsible for crime. The Nazi

race-law has, therefore, the object of preventing diseased heredity in the rising generation (*Gesetz zur Verhuetung erbrunken Nachwuchses*), because it is believed that diseased heredity and criminality go together.

German ideas on the Orient and the ancient world have likewise been undergoing transformation. Academic orientalists like Lueders, von Glasenapp, Breloer and others have been exhibiting the secular and worldly aspects of Hindu culture. Several years ago were published two volumes of Hartmut Piper's *Die Gesetze der Weltgeschichte*: (1) *Der Gesetzmaessige Lebenslauf der Voelker Chinas und Japans* (1929), and (2) *Indien* (1931), Leipzig.

Hartmut Piper is interested not so much in the archæological and antiquarian aspects of Chinese and Japanese history as in the interpretation of well-known data bearing on the developments of life and thought in Eastern Asia from the standpoint of comparative race-biology. The methods that he has applied in the study of European culture-history he has applied to the historical facts of China and Japan also. Every reader, even if he be a specialist in Chinese and Japanese questions, will be agreeably surprised to discover many parallelisms and identities with the expressions of European civilization such as have as a rule been overlooked in conventional treatises on history.

Piper's scheme is as follows: For every culture-system he recognizes seven biological ages—(1) patriarchal childhood (monarchy), (2) youth (aristocracy), (3) early manhood (absolutism), (4) full manhood (constitutionalism), (5) late manhood (imperialism), (6) old age (Caesarism), (7) senility (marasmus, decay). One would be easily reminded of Spengler's classification into seasons of cultural life. But Piper's speciality consists in pointing out categorically how the features of Chinese and Japanese civilization have been similar to those of the European although in different epochs of time. And to this extent the present writer's standpoints in *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes* (Shanghai, 1916) and in *The Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin, 1922) may be said to have been considerably verified and enlarged in Piper's contributions. Naturally, however, when one tries to divide manhood itself into three different stages—early, full, late—one can hardly avoid an over-fineness in analysis which can very often appear to be but strained and unconvincing.

Piper discovers the same laws of universal history in the biography of the Indian peoples. There was a time when scholars used to take

pride in discovering and emphasizing the differences between race and race in regard to the achievements of civilization. The alleged distinction between the East and the West has long remained the stock in trade not only of Orientalists but of all sociologists, culture-historians, and philosophers who take their cue from Orientalists and who propagate the political ideology of chauvinism and imperialism. Piper's work on India like that on China and Japan is well calculated to cry a halt to this sort of cheap specialism in Oriental lore and compel scholars as well as statesmen to revise their orientations in regard to Asia. Piper is naturally being challenged by the exponents of the *status quo*. But he is substantially backed by the laborious researches and investigations of culture-historians like Hermann Goetz. Piper is more at home in literature than in institutions. His analysis appears very often, therefore, to be more metaphysical than factual. His equations between Indian celebrities of diverse epochs and those of the West look very often like mere shadowy parities rather than concrete realities. But all the same, Piper has succeeded in rescuing India from the sidetracks of splendid isolation to which she had been forced for nearly two generations. It is just good and right that he considers Goethe to be one of his spiritual predecessors in this work. For it requires to be well-known that Goethe was one of the very first to discover the fundamental identity between India and Europe.

DISCIPLE : 1938 A.D.

Into Your care, O Lord, I gave my mind,
And to Your creed my uttermost belief.
I turned the other cheek—and came to grief.
I sought, returning good for ill, to bind
With love my enemy and all mankind.
Scorned for my pains, to every impulse deaf
That counselled anger, pride, however brief,
I still kept faith—bowed, bloodied, and resigned.

And so at last, O Shepherd, I that gave
Myself into Your keeping, here I stand :
An alien in the world, despoiled, unmanned ;
Driven from place to place, a hunted slave.
And nothing left me of Your heavenly creed
But a dead heart, with no more blood to bleed !

GUSTAV DAVIDSON.

SHAYKH SHARAF-UD-DIN AHMAD YAHYA OF MUNAYR

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SHAYKH Sharaf-ud-Dīn Ahmad was born on last Friday in the month of Shābān in 661/1262 in the village of Munayr,¹ which lies at a distance of sixty miles from the town of "Bihar" now known as Bihar Sharif. He is known by his surname Sharaf-ul-Ḥaq Wal Millat Wad-Dīn, and also by his titles Shaykhul Islām Wal Muslimīn, Sulṭānul Muḥaqqiqīn and Makhdum-ul-Mulk, etc. etc.

He was born at the time when Nasir-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd (d. 664/1266), the pious king sat on the throne of Delhi, while Bagdad boasted of Al-Ḥakīm bi-Amrillāh as its Caliph.

The name of Sharaf-ud-Dīn's father was Yahya. Yahya's grand father was Mawlānā Tāj Faqih, who is said to have come to Bihar and to have settled at Munayr from Palestine.

Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn's line of ancestors, on the father's side extends as far back as 'Abdul Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's grand-father, and on the mother's side to Caliph 'Alī (d. 40/660).

Yahya was proverbially known for piety and his wife, Rābia,² Sharaf-ud-Dīn's mother was equally proverbial for godliness.

She was called Rābia II for her virtues.

Mawlāna Tāj Faqih did immense service to Islam by his residence at Munayr. His wife died here. He then bade good-bye to Munayr all alone, leaving his sons behind, and returned to his native place.

¹ "Munair, Maner or Munair," is a very old place on the right bank of the Sone at its confluence with the Ganges.

Elliot Dawson erroneously confounds it sometimes with Munger. Firishta ascribes its foundation to the mythical times of Firoz Rai, son of Kesha Ray, a contemporary of the hero Rostam.....General Cunningham in his Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. VIII (pp.22-23) offers a theory of his own about the establishment of Muner, immediately after the Muhammadan Conquest.....Baber in his memoirs (p. 478) describes its situation in the following words:—

"Down the stream from the place where I was, I saw a large number of trees. They said to me that it was Muneyr."

Baber and Sikandar Shah Lodi are related to have made pilgrimages to the shrine of Shaikh Yahya, father of Shaikh Sharaf-ud-Din ('Tarikh-i Daūdi in Elliot Dawson, History Vol. IV, p. 462 : Baber memoirs 478).....Muner now belongs to the district of Patna J.A.R.S.B., Vol. XXXVII, p. 7.

² Rābia, the famous woman saint of Basra. She died in 185/801.

He then married his sister-in-law by whom he had a son, named Shāh 'Abdul' 'Azīz.

It appears that Mawlānā Tāj did not return to Munayr, but passed the rest of his life in Quds-i-Khalīl. Shāh 'Abdul' 'Azīz came to Munayr to meet his step-brother.

The author of the *Manāqib-ul-Aṣfiyā* happens to be the grandson of Shāh 'Abdul' 'Azīz.

Shaykh Yaḥya had four sons in all. Shaykh Jalil-ud-Dīn, Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn Aḥmad, Shaykh Khalīl-ud-Dīn and Shaykh Ḥabīb-ud-Dīn.

The house wherein Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn was born could still be traced in Munayr and it is revered as a shrine.

EDUCATION

As S. Sharaf-ud-Dīn grew in years, he was sent to school. After the fashion of the day, he was given elementary education, which was far from satisfactory, judged by modern standards. He says:—

در ایام خردگی چندین کتابها مارا یاد کرانیدند - چنانکه مصادر
و مفتاح اللغت - ¹

In my boyhood they made me get by heart many books *c.g.*, for instance, the *Masādir* and the *Miftāḥ-ul-Lughāt*.

It is difficult to trace his teachers of this period. It was at this stage that Delhi witnessed certain important political changes. The slave dynasty came to power. Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn Abu Tawāma was an accomplished scholar with a large following. He was looked upon as a source of menace to the government. He was ordered to quit the city by the then reigning Sultan.

He thus made his way to Bengal taking his family with him. His brother, Mawlāna Hafiz Zain-ud-Dīn also accompanied him thither.

The party while starting for Sonargaon² halted at Munayr.

¹ *M'adan-ul-Maānī* (Patna Ed.), Part 1, p. 43.

² Sonargaon—"Ancient Muhammadan capital of East Bengal in the Narayanganj Sub-Division of Dacca District.....Sonargaon was the residence of the Muhammadan Governors of Eastern Bengal from 1351 to 1608, when the capital of the whole province was transferred to Dacca. The only remaining traces of its former grandeur on some ruins in and near the insignificant village of Panam, about 6 miles East of Narayanganj. Hardly is Magrapara where there was a mint...While Sonargaon was the seat of Government, it was a place of considerable commercial importance and was famous for its cloths and muslins; it was the Eastern terminus of the Grand Trunk Road made by Sher Shah. (*Arc. Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XV, Cunningham, pp. 135-145.

Shaykh Yahya received the party with open arms and it stayed there for some time as his honoured guest.

Thus Sharaf-ud-Dīn, who hankered after knowledge, came across a distinguished scholar in Abu Tawāma and desired to accompany him to Sonargaon. Yahya permitted his son to do so and accordingly he went with the party to Sonargaon and stayed there for some time. While there he evinced great interest in his studies and became proficient in all the branches of Muslim learning *viz.*, the commentary on the Qurān, Tradition, Jurisprudence, Theology, Logic, Philosophy, Mathematics, etc., and his works are full of eloquent suggestions on these points.

After completing his studies Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn, better known by his title Makhdūm-ul-Mulk, turned his attention to *ṣūfism*. He passed much of his time in meditation and spiritual exercises and became a proficient in it.

This was the beginning of the part which he was to play in the future as a director of human souls. He says:—

احكام مذهب دين طائفة (صوفيه) در كتب و تصانيف ايشان
سالها باز مطالعه کرده شده است¹

The basic principles of this sect (*sufis*) as embodied in their works, have been studied by me for years.

MARRIAGE

While at Sonargaon, he had at first no inclination for marriage for a considerable period of time, as devotion to knowledge occupied his sole attention. It is stated that Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn was attacked with some severe disease, and doctors advised him marriage as the only remedy.

Mawlānā Abū Tawāma wanted to marry his daughter to Makhdūm-ul-Mulk, who agreed to the proposal after some hesitation.² Makhdūm-ul-Mulk had three sons by his wife. Two of them died in infancy at Sonargaon, while one, *viz.*, Shāh Dhakī-ud-Dīn survived and later on accompanied his father on his return to his native land.

¹ Maktubūt-i-Du Sadī maktub 81, p. 270 (Sharāf Press, Bihar), 1306 A.H.

² Some are of opinion that Makhdūm-ul-Mulk was married to the slave-girl of his teacher. But there seems to be no authority for this.

While at Sonargaon, Makhdūm-ul-Mulk was absorbed in his studies. He paid no heed to the letters he received from home, as mentioned above, which were put into a bag and forgotten, and this was opened only after he had given a finishing touch to his educational career. To his dismay, he found a letter there containing news of his father's demise on the 11th Shâbân 690/1291. He informed his father-in-law of this catastrophe. He was then permitted to return to his native place with his son Shâh Dhakī-ud-Dīn in the same year or in the beginning of the following year.

On reaching home he passed some time to the satisfaction of his mother.

But, as we know, Makhdūm-ul-Mulk had already set his face against this world and hankered after spiritual food, over the acquisition of which he spent considerable time and energy. His mother, as hinted above, was a pious lady. It was at this stage that Makhdūm-ul-Mulk addressed his mother thus: "Mother, remain satisfied with Dhakī and allow me to travel in the path of God."

Now the drama, of which the early career of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk forms the prologue begins.

Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn was permitted by his mother to travel in the path of God. He started in quest of a spiritual director and reached Delhi, which was then the rendezvous of saints and holy men. Shaykh Nizām-ud-Dīn was regarded as the chief priest.

The meeting between Sharaf-ud-Dīn and the chief priest of Delhi is a matter of dispute among biographers.

Abul Faḍl and Shaykh 'Abdul Ḥaq of Delhi are among those who hold the view that the meeting did not take place at all and that Sharaf-ud-Dīn reached Delhi when Shaykh Nizām-ud-Dīn had already passed away.

Abul Faḍl writes:—

و بآرزوی دیدن شیخ نظام اویلیا با مهین برادر خود شیخ
جلال الدین محمد بدهلی آمد - شیخ در گذشته بود¹

"And in the desire of seeing Shaykh Nizamud [-Dīn] Awliya he went to Delhi with his eldest brother Shakh Jalāl-ud-Dīn Muḥammad. The Shaykh meanwhile had passed away."

¹ Ains-i-Akbari, Vol. II (Bib. Indica Series, p. 219), Jarret, Vol. III, p. 370.



The Mausoleum of Hadrat Makhdūm-ul-mulk Shaykh Ahmad Yahya of Munayr

By Courtesy of

MESSES. RASHID & Co.

Bihar-Sharif.

Shaykh 'Abdul Haq observes:—

گویند که شیخ شرف الدین بشوق بندگی شیخ نظام الدین
اولیا بدهلی آمد - قضارا پیدش از آنکه از بدهلی برسد شیخ
نظام الدین ریاض رضوان خرامیده بود¹

'It is said that Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn came to Delhi to accept the discipleship of Shaykh Nizām-ud-Dīn Awliyā. By chance before he could reach Delhi, the Shaykh had already walked into the gardens of Paradise (*i.e.*, was dead). On the other hand, the author of the *Manāqib-ul-Ashfiyā*, the author of the *Latā'if-ul-Ashrafī*, *Firishta*, etc., hold that Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn had the honour of visiting Shaykh Nizām-ud-Dīn, but as God willed otherwise, he could not become Shaykh's murīd.

Hājī Nizām-ud-Dīn Gharīb Yamānī, the compiler of the *Latā'if-ul-Ashrafī* observes:—

حضرت شیخ شرف الدین بعد از تحصیل علوم شرعیہ و تکمیل
ریاضات اصلیه و فرعیه بشرف ملازمت حضرت سلطان المشائخ
بدهلی تشریف بردند و استدعا ارادت و ارشاد کردند - استفسار
از عالم غیبی و قضای لاریبیبی کردند - و سر بجیب استغراق
کشیده بر آوردند و فرمودند - برادر شرف نصیب ارادت و حصول
سلوک از برادر نجیب الدین فردوسی است²

His Holiness Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn, after having finished the acquisition of religious sciences and having undergone religious exercises in their principal and detailed forms, came to visit Sultan-ul-Mashāikh at Delhi and desired to be accepted as a disciple. The Shaykh bent down his head to seek permission from the unseen world and then raised his head and said, "Brother Sharaf-ud-Dīn, you have your portion under the care of our brother, Najib-ud-Dīn Firdawsī,

The following saying is also attributed to Shaykh Nizam-ud-Dīn Awliyā.

این سیمرغیست که نصیب دام مانیت

'It is a simurg (griffin) which is not the portion of our snare.'

¹ Akhbār-ul-Akhyār (Delhi ed.), p. 118.

² Sirat-i-Sharaf (Patna Ed.), p. 61.

When Makhdūm-ul-Mulk went to visit the Shaykh of Delhi, he received him with honour befitting his rank, but declined to accept him as his disciple with the above mentioned remarks.

Firishta observes:—

در همان ایام شیخ شرف الدین احمد سبزواری [منیری] ر برادر
بزرگ ار شیخ جلال الدین بقصد ارادت به دهلی آمدند - ر شیخ
(نظام الدین) را دریافته خواستند که مرید شوند لیکن شیخ
فرمود که حواله شما بخانواده فردرسیان است¹

In those days Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn Aḥmad (Sabzwārī) of Munayr and his elder brother Shaykh Jalīl-ud-Dīn [Jalāl-ud-Dīn] came to visit the Shaykh (Nizam-ud-Dīn) of Delhi and to become his disciple but the latter remarked, 'You are meant for the Firdawsī order.'

Thus there are two contradictory opinions with regard to the meeting between the Saint of Delhi and Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn. I am inclined to hold the view that they met, for the following reasons.

A. *Internal evidence:*

Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn writes in his Mādan-ul-Ma'āni:—

مولانا ضیاء الدین سنّامی هم محدث بود ر مفسر - روزی من
در تذکیر ایشان حاضر بودم²

Mawlānā Ḍiyya-ud-Dīn Sanāmī was a traditionist and also a commentator on the Qurān. One day I attended his sermons.

From the extracts quoted above, it is clear that Ḍiyyā-ud-Dīn Sanāmī was alive when Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn was at Delhi and probably he had the occasion to meet him.

B. *External evidence:*

Shaykh 'Abdul Ḥaqq writes in his Akhbār-ul-Akhyār:—³

(مولانا ضیاء الدین) معاصر شیخ نظام الدین بود - ر دائم
به شیخ از جهت سماع احتساب کرده - ر شیخ باری جزبه
معذرت و انقیاد پیش نه آمده - شیخ نظام الدین اولیا در

¹ Firishta, Vol. II p. 396 (Nawalkishore ed. 1321 A. H.)

² Mādan-ul-Mā'āni, (Sharaful Akhlār Press, Bihar), Part I, Chap. XII, p. 117.

³ Akhbār-ul-Akhyār (Delhi ed.), p. 109.

مرض موت مولانا ضياء الدين سنامي به عيادت رفت - مولانا دستار چٹ خود را به پائی انداز شيخ انداخت - شيخ دستارچه بر چيد - روبر چشم نهاد - و چون پيش مولانا بنشست مولانا چشم باری دو چار کرد - و چون برخاست و بيرون آمد آواز فوت مولانا برخاست - شيخ ميگرست و تاسف می کرد که یک ذات بود حامی شرع حيف که آن نیز نه ماند -

Mawlānā Ḍiyaud-Dīn Sanāmi, was the contemporary of Shaykh Nizām-ud-Dīn. He always found fault with the Shaykh for his indulgence in music, and the Shaykh did not receive him but with excuse and submission..... ..; Shaykh Nizām-ud-Dīn went to see Mawlānā Ziauddin, while he was on death-bed. The latter threw his turban at the feet of the Shaykh, who took it up and placed it on his eyes.

When he sat down before the Mawlānā, he did not look at him, and when he woke up, the cry was heard that the former was no more.

The Shaykh wept and expressed his sorrow. 'There was one personality, upholder of law. It is sad that it too has passed away.'

From the above extracts, it is abundantly clear that Shaykh Nizām-ud-Dīn was alive at the time of the death of Mawlānā Ḍiyā-ud-Dīn.

It does not stand to reason that Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn, who left home in search of a spiritual director and came to the seat of Government, which was the rendezvous of saints and holy men, with Shaykh Nizām-ud-Dīn as their head could not have met him.

We are led, therefore, to assume that he had the privilege of meeting the famous saint of Delhi.

As hinted above, Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn, when he attended the assembly held by the saint, was asked to meet His Holiness Najīb-ud-Dīn Firdawsī. S. Sharaf-ud-Dīn returned with his brother to Panipat quite disappointed. Here he met Sharaf-ud-Dīn of Panipat and observed about him : "He is a Shaykh, but has no self-control."

¹ "Village in the head-quarters sub-division of Shahabad, Bengal.....on the East Indian Railway, 382 miles from Calcutta....."

Bibiya is best known for manufacture of iron sugarcane mills, which are now in general use throughout Northern India." (Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. VIII, p. 171.)

Now he was advised by his brother, who was with him to return to Delhi once more to meet Shaykh Najib-ud-Dīn Firdawsī, whom he praised in lavish terms.

Sharaf-ud-Dīn replied "I was rejected by the Qutb of Delhi. I do not see any good in seeing any other saint."

But when his brother still exhorted him, he gave way and proceeded towards Najib-ud-Dīn.

When he reached the place, he was awed and on approaching him, he was full of a tremble and perspired. Then he submitted that he might be accepted as a disciple.

The Shaykh complied with his request then and there and made to him the letter of authority (the *Ijāzat Nama*) empowering him to accept others as disciples. He then bade him farewell, exhorting him not to return even if he heard any sad news.

After he had proceeded on his return journey some miles, he heard the sad news of the demise of his spiritual master. He was overwhelmed with sorrow and would go back, but the instructions of his preceptor prevented him.

He then proceeded homewards. When he reached the the jungles of Bihiya¹ he got out of control and ran into the wild. His brother, who was with him, could do nothing. He simply gazed at him. Consequently he had to return home all alone and carried with him the letter of authority and other articles, granted to Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn by his spiritual director.

Wanderings:— It is generally stated that he spent about twelve years in these jungles. It is difficult to get any authentic account of his life during this period, excepting what we learn through himself or some of his disciples or reliable biographers. He also spent many years in the jungles of Rajgir.² It is equally difficult to know the account of his life during this period, but it is related that he scarcely came across any human being during these rambles.

It is related that somebody saw him once in these jungles of Rajgir but suddenly he disappeared.

¹ *Vide* foot notes on a preceding page.

² Rajgir—a town in the Bihar Sub-division on B. B. Light Railway.

It was identified by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton with Rajagriha, the residence of Buddha and capital of ancient Magadha; and by General Cunningham with Kusinagara—Pusa (the town of the Kusgrā) visited by Hien Tsiung and called by him Kin-She-to-pu-lo....

It is also described by Fa Hian and Hsien Tsiung, the Chinese pilgrims, the latter of whom, gives an account of the hot springs found at this place.

(Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXI, p. 72.) This is a place of pilgrimage.

Some other person saw him in a certain jungle. He was in deep meditation and stood by the branch of a tree, while ants freely went into and came out of his throat, and he did not feel it.

It appears that Makhdūm-ul-Mulk had a cell of his own at Rajgir, before he settled in Bihar. His cell—a miraculous cell, existing over 600 years, still bears eloquent testimony to the spiritual greatness of its occupant.

Those who have seen it may well realise its importance and the awe and veneration it inspires in the heart of those who look at it. After Makhdūm-ul-Mulk had settled in Bihar, he often came to Rajgir and stayed there for some time.

The author of the *Manāqib-ul-Aṣfiyā* observes :—

تا درپای قوت بود بیرون میرفت - یگان درگان ماهی بیرون می
ماند - مدتی بر این طریق گذشت ¹

So long as he had strength in his legs he could walk and would remain out for some time—a month or two. Thus time went on.

It has been mentioned above that Makhdūm-ul-Mulk passed many years in the jungles of Bihiya and Rajgir.

Some interesting anecdotes that relate to the events of this period may be mentioned below :—

(1) While in the jungle of Bihiya, Makhdūm-ul-Mulk one day came across some one named Chulhāi, who tended his flock of cattle. The Makhdūm felt very thirsty. He came to Chulhāi and wanted some milk from him. "There is no milk," replied Chulhāi, "My cow does not yield milk. It is only a filly." But Makhdūm persisted in his request.

Being enraged, Chulhāi began to milk the filly. Lo! to the astonishment of the cowherd, it yielded milk with which the pot was filled up.

Chulhāi was overjoyed at this and he fell at the feet of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk. He then renounced this world and became one of his staunch followers. ²

(2) It is related on the authority of Qāḍī Zāhid that he enquired of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk about his devotional exercises of this period.

¹ *Sirat-i-Sharaf* (Patna Ed.), p. 71.

² *Ibid.*, p. 78.

“ I did not taste any food for thirty years,” replied the Shaykh, “ but in times of extreme hunger, I satisfied myself with the leaves of trees.”¹

(3) It is also related on the same authority that Makhdūm-ul-Mulk reached a spot, where there were some cows and the cowherd was sleeping nearly. Makhdūm took a fancy to a certain cow and began to gaze at it. Some women, one of whom was a witch, passed by. She practised a charm upon the cow and it died. The cowherd who was asleep, woke up and found him there, while the women were out of sight. He beat Makhdūm-ul-Mulk with a stick, blaming him for causing the death of the cow. The Shaykh said to him, “ If your cow revives, will you spare me ?” “ O, yes,” replied he. He ran to the woman and implored her to bring the dead cow to life. She practised some charm and the cow got up.

Makhdūm-ul-Mulk says that he took much delight in thus being beaten by the cowherd, inasmuch as it affected his lower self which benefited him spiritually.²

HIS RESIDENCE IN BIHAR

After Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn left the jungles of Rājgīr, he came to the town of Bihar and settled there. In the beginning he used to come to the town once a week to say his Jumā prayers and then returned to Rājgīr.

Thus many days rolled on. At this time Bihar contained many disciples of Shaykh Nizām-ud-Dīn Awliyā, who often went to meet Makhdūm-ul-Mulk in the jungles, when they heard of his greatness. Nizām Mawlā was one of those sincere people who was keen in this respect. They requested the Shaykh to stay out for a day or two in Bihar and to influence them by his teaching and association. To this he consented and some time passed in this way.

Then they resolved to fix a permanent place, for Makhdūm-ul-Mulk, wherein he should stay and benefit seekers after truth.

It is likely to have taken place between A. H. 720-724 for reasons noted below.

Makhdūm-ul-Mulk accepted the discipleship of Najīb-ud-Dīn Firdawsī in 691/1291 and is said to have spent about thirty years in jungles engaged in devotional exercises.

¹ *Sirat-i-Sharaf* (Patna Ed.) p.75.

² *Ibid.*, p. 77.

It was during his stay at Bihar when Shaykh Zāhid is said to have asked him, "Who is the lover of God in India?" "That mad man of Panipat, *i.e.*, Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn," was the reply.

This Sharaf-ud-Dīn died in 724 A. H.

Thus we can fix the date of Makhdūm's taking up his residence in Bihar between 721-724 A. H. .

It was at this stage that Nizām Mawlā built a house for Makhdūm-ul-Mulk who was very austere in his habits, outside the town, where the friends of Shaykh Nizām-ud-Dīn invited him to sit on the prayer-carpet, which he did at their request, remarking, "Friends, your association led me to sit in the temple (*i.e.*, of pride or self-hood)."

As we know Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq ascended the throne of Delhi in 725/1324. He was a man well-known for his whims. He sent for pious people and entrusted them with high responsibilities, and if they refused to accept office they would be persecuted. Thus Shaykh Naṣīrud-Dīn Maḥmūd was entrusted with some responsible office; when he declined to accept it, he was persecuted. Sayyid Jalāl of Bukhara was placed in charge of the monastery to give food to the poor. Ibn Baṭṭuta on his arrival in Delhi was appointed Qāḍī against his will. Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq issued a royal mandate to Majd-ul-Mulk¹ to construct a monastery for Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn of Munayr and to assign "Pargana" Rajgir to him for necessary expenses instructing that it might be thrust upon him in case he declined to accept the offer.

The Sultan sent one Balgharian prayer-carpet also for Makhdūm-ul-Mulk as a mark of his royal insignia. Majdul-Mulk approached Makhdūm-ul-Mulk with these words, "I cannot venture to offer you the presents which the Sultan has ordered me to. But if your Holiness does not condescend to accept them I shall incur royal displeasure." Makhdūm-ul-Mulk then accepted the offer at the supplication of Majdul-Mulk.

A convent was constructed in due course inside which a cell was made for the residence of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk and the Bulgarian carpet was spread on which he took his seat.

It is difficult to mention the exact date when this convent was constructed and Rajgir given in Jagir.

There is a reference to this in the *Mādan-ul-Ma'ānī*, which contains the letters written by Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn before A.H. 746/1345.

Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq ascended the throne in 725/1324. So we can fix a date between A.H. 725 and A.H. 746, as the year when Rājgīr was given in Jagir to the Shaykh of Bihar.

After Makhdūm-ul-Mulk had settled in Bihar, his mother and most of his relations followed suit. His disciples and admrus flocked round him and the number began to increase from day to day till it rose very high. Makhdūm-ul-Mulk passed the remainder of his life, a period of about sixty years, in Bihar, although he went off and on into the jungles and mountains and spent a month or so there.

The period of his life, which he spent in Bihar is reflected in his utterances, which are preserved till to-day in the form of letters and which serve as a guide to seekers after truth. Makhdūm-ul-Mulk had a large circle of disciples and devotees. He taught them high principles of morality. His teachings were based on exoteric and esoteric sciences. His assembly was like the assembly of the Prophet, orthodox Caliphs, Shaykhs of Islam and he did not deviate at all from the established standard.

A detailed criticism of his teachings is not possible in a paper like this. The following may be mentioned among his important disciples and vice-regents:—

- (1) Mawlānā Muẓaffaruddīn Balkhī
- (2) Zain Badr-i-'Arabī
- (3) Mawlānā Husayn Nawsha Tawḥīd
- (4) Mawlānā Shams-ud-Dīn etc. etc.

MAKHDŪM-UL-MULK AND KINGS OF DELHI

It is generally stated that Makhdūm-ul-Mulk attained to a ripe old age of 120 years. He was born in 661/1262 and died in 782/1380. During this long period he witnessed many important political changes in the country. Many kings were crowned and passed away during the life-time of the Shaykh of Bihar, one after another. Sultan Naṣīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd, Sultan Ghyath-ud-Dīn Balban, Mu'iz-ud-Dīn Kay Qubād, Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khalji, 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khalji, Shihāb-ud-Dīn 'Umar, Qutb-ud-Dīn Tughlaq, Sultan Muḥammad Shāh Tughlaq, Firūz Shāh-ibn-Sālār Rajab. These changes fraught with far-reaching consequences could not but produce an effect upon the contemplative mind

of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk. He understood this world with all its grandeur and pomp and he kept himself aloof from it as far as possible.

His society was not limited to disciples and devotees, men of learning and scholarship, saints and sufis, but it included kings and princes, governors and high officials, and people from all ranks and all nationalities. Sultan Muḥammad, Majdul-Mulk, Prince Mubārak..... of Bihar, Mawlānā Ṣadrud-din, Nāib Qaḍī of Sonargaon and many more cultivated his society and held him in great honour.

But Makhdūm-ul-Mulk's attachment towards them was not for any personal gain or influence, but for doing good to humanity at large through his association with them. This fact is quite clear from his non-attachment policy, when he went to Delhi to return the farmans to the Sultan, relating to Rājgīr, which was granted to him as Jāgīr some years ago.

He cared nothing for worldly influence and affluence. He lived a most ascetic life. He lived on dry bread and water. He did not permit herth in his home.

The following anecdote, based on the authority of the Mūnis-ul-Qulūb, will bear out this point:

Once Makhdūm-ul-Mulk saw smoke rising from his inner apartment. He asked Shaykh Chulhāi as to its cause and enquired if the portion allotted to his mother was duly arranged for her. S. Chulhāi submitted, "She has undoubtedly received her portion." But an enquiry revealed that a Makhdūm's relation had come for whom his mother was cooking bread and fowl. He submitted, "Mother! I made a condition with you and you are violating it." The mother was a pious lady and she at once gave up cooking the fowl.

From the above anecdote we can infer how asceticism had influenced the character of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk. He abstained even from things that were allowable and he never cared for 'creature comforts.'

HIS CHARACTER

Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn was an erudite scholar. He was also a Ṣūfī saint of great eminence. He followed the Sunna of the Prophet to the very letter. His heart was full of 'the milk of human kindness.' He was very affable in manners and humble in mind. He loved and respected his disciples. He was extremely tolerant in his views. He was above bias and bigotry. He held discussions with his opponents

in a most tolerant way and never lost his temper. He served humanity in a most loving fashion. His assembly was the rendezvous of scholars and men of letters of all shades of opinion; and he conversed with them to the entire satisfaction of all of them. Those who wanted to ask him questions could do so freely and had all their doubts cleared up. His life was really a life of miracles, though he avoided miracles as such.

HIS FAMILY LIFE

Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn married the daughter of Mawlānā Abu Tawāma, as mentioned above. He had three sons by her. Two of them died in infancy, while the third one, named Dhakī survived.

Dhakī died during the life-time of his father, leaving a daughter behind, named Barika. She was married to Sayyid Wajīh-ud-Dīn Riḍwī, the nephew of Shaykh Najīb-ud-Dīn Firdawsī. She gave birth to a daughter, Ṭuhra by name, who was married to Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ālawī Ṭūsī, who had two sons, Shaykh 'Ālim-ud-Dīn and Shaykh Imām-ud-Dīn. After some time when the descendants of Ḥusayn Balkhī Nawsha Tawḥīd relinquished their rights on the spiritual succession of Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn, the descendants of Bārīka were made Sajjada Nashin, (*i.e.*, spiritual heads of the line of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk). Shāh Bikh was the first of this line and his descendants, one after another, were the trustees of the convent of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk. Although the lineal descendants of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk are limited, his followers, who are no less than his descendants, are spread all over the Islamic India and abroad.

HIS SPIRITUAL LINEAGE

The lineage of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk in spiritual order, may be given as follows:—

Muḥammad, the Prophet (ob. 632 A.D.)

Imām Ālī (ob. 961 A.D.)

„ Ḥusayn (ob. 680 A.D.)

„ Zain-ul-'Abidīn (ob. 711 A.D.)

„ Md. Bāqir (ob. 736 A.D.)

„ Ja'far-i-Sādiq (ob. 765 A.D.)

„ Mūsī Kāẓim (ob. 799 A.D.)

- Imām 'Alī Ridā (ob. 818 A.D.)
 Māruf-i-Karkhī (ob. 855 A.D.)
 Sari Saqāṭi (ob. 867 A.D.)
 Junayd of Baghdad (ob. 909 A.D.)
 Khwāja Mamshād Dinawarī (ob. 911 A.D.)
 Khwāja Aḥmad Aswad Dinawarī (ob. 977 A.D.)
 Muḥammad b. 'Adullah 'Amawiyah (ob. 983 A.D.)
 Wajīh-ud-Dīn Abu Ḥafs (ob. 1171 A.D.)
 Ḍiyā-ud-Dīn Abū Najīb Suhrawadī (ob. 1167 A.D.)
 Najm-ud-Dīn Kubra (ob. 1220 A.D.)
 Khwāja Saif-ud-Dīn Bākharazī (ob. 1259 A.D.)
 Khwāja Badruddin Samarqandī (ob. 1316 A.D.)
 Rukn-ud-Dīn Firdawsī (ob. 1346 A.D.)
 Khawaja Najīb-ud-dīn Firdawsī (ob. 1331 A.D.)
 Shaykh Sharaf-ūd-Dīn
 Aḥmad Yahya of Munayr (ob. 1380 A.D.)

LAST DAYS

Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn (Makhdūm-ul-Mulk) was a Ṣūfī of eminence of the eighth century of the Hijra era. By virtue of rigid discipline and devotional exercises for many long years, he attained to perfection. His heart was the mirror in which he could behold the unseen face of the True Beloved.

He took upon himself the task of serving humanity.

When he grew very old (as he is said to have lived over 100 years), even then he carefully performed the minutest details of the daily round of his duty. The last hours of his life are described by a disciple of his, *viz.*, Shaykh Zain Badr-i-'Arabī. He says on the 5th of Shawwal, Wednesday, 782/1380, Makhdūm-ul-Mulk lay down on the prayer carpet after his morning prayer. His brother Khalīl-ud-Dīn, his special attendant and other relations and friends were also present by his side. He began to read out the Qurānic verses: 'There is no strength, no power but with Allah, high and great,' and he exhorted the audience to follow him. All obeyed his command.....He then caught the hands of Qāḍī Shams-ud-Dīn and Qāḍī Zāhid and remarked, "I am the same"..... He then bade the audience good-bye and read out loudly....."Do not despair of the mercy of Allah. He will forgive all our sins." Then other friends came and he

talked to them with love and affection. He then read out some prayers. Then he fainted and breathed his last, on the same day at night and was buried the following day. Makhdūm Ashraf Jahāngīr (ob. 1405 A.D) led the prayer on the occasion.¹

MAKHDŪM-UL-MULK AS AN AUTHOR

The catalogue of the O. P. Library, Bankipur, on the authority of Khān Bahadur Ḍamīr-ud-Dīn, the author of the *Sirat-i-Sharaf*, which is the main source of this paper, mentions some fifteen works to be attributed to Mukhdum-ul-Mulk. They are as follows:...

(1) *Maktubāt-i-Ṣadī*—*i.e.*, letters of Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn written in reply to those of Qāḍī Shams-ud-Dīn, governor of Jūsa, arranged by Zan Badr-i-'Arabī, the chief disciple of the Shaykh. These letters date from A. H. 747.

(2) *Maktūbāt-i-Du Ṣadī*—one hundred fifty letters of the compilation have been arranged and published separately, as it were, a different book. Important learned men, who happened to be amongst the disciples of the Shaykh have been addressed in these letters, for instance, Shaykh 'Umar Qāḍī Shams-ud-Dīn, Qaḍī Zāhid, Mawlāna Ṣadr-ud-Dīn including Sultan Fīrūz Shāh.

(3) *Maktūbāt-i-Bist-wa-Hasht*—These are the remaining letters of the Shaykh addressed to Mawlānā Muẓaffar-ud-Dīn; the latter had instructed before his death to bury them with him in his grave. Some of the letters remained and have come down to us in the present form.

(4) *Ajwiba*—These are the letters in reply to the questions raised by loving disciples of the Shaykh on Ṣūfism.

(5) *Fawāi 'd-i-Ruknī*—This treatise was written at the request of Ḥājji Rukn-ud-Dīn for his benefit.

(6) *Irshād-ud-Ṭālibīn*—A treatise written for helping a seeker after truth.

(7) *Irshād-us-Sālikīn*—A treatise on pantheism.

(8) *Risāla-i-Makkiya*—A treatise on self-introspection.

(9) *Mādan-ul-Mā'ānī*—A book containing the discourses on Ṣūfism, given by Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn and collected by Zan Badr-i-'Arabī between 15th Shāban 749/1348 and the end of Shawwal 751/1350.

(10) *Luṭfu 'l-Ma'ānī*—An abridged form of *M'adan-ul-Mā'ānī*.

¹ *Sirat-i-Sharaf*. (Patna Ed.), p. 185.

(11) *Mukh-ul-Ma'anī*—collected by *Shihāb-ud-Dīn Halīfī*. The date of its compilation is not known.

(12) *Khwan-i-Pur N'imāt*—Collected by Zan Badr-i-'Arabī. It serves as an appendix to the *M'adan-ul-Ma'anī*.

(13) *Tuhfa-i-Ghaybī*—Another treatise collected by the same Zayn-i-Badr.

(14) *Sharh-i-Ādāb-ul-Murīdīn*—A commentary on the *Ādab-ul-Murīdīn* of *Diya'ud-Dīn Najīb Suhrawardī* by the Shaykh. It was begun on Friday Rabi I A.H. 765 and completed on Tuesday *Dhul-hijja* A.H. 768.

(15) *'Aqā'id-i-Ashrafi*—It deals with the tenets of *Ṣūfis*.

These works are mostly devoted to *Ṣūfistic* topics. No. 1 which is generally available contains one hundred letters. They deal with all problems relating to *Ṣūfī* doctrine. They were collected by Zan Badr-i-'Arabī, a disciple of the Shaykh and were addressed to the latter's disciple and friend *Qāḍī Shame-ud-Dīn*, governor of *Jusa* at his repeated requests.

The contents have been fully described by *Ethe* in his *India Office Catalogue*, No. 1843. (column 1008).

Another important work is *Mādan-ul-Ma'anī*.

A careful study of these works gives us a clear insight into the *Ṣūfistic* teachings of which *Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn* is the best exponent.

The style of these works is on the whole not very simple. The ideas are high and *ṣūfistic*. The texts are interspersed with apt quotations from the Holy *Qurān* and the traditions and sayings of the *Ṣūfis*.

The following are some of the extracts given below, which will serve as instances in point.

چندان نور باطن ظهور حق بر رونده آشکارا شود که همه
ذرات وجود پیش دیده ری در اشراق آن نور متواری شوند
بر مثل متواری شدن ذره های هوا در اشراق نور آفتاب و ذره
در نور آفتاب نتوان دید¹

A traveller experiences so much inner light about Divine Presence that all atoms of Existence are hidden in his eyes, just as all atoms of

¹ *Maktūbāt-i-Hadrat Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn Yahya of Munsyr (Nawal Kishore; Ed. 1911), p. 6.*

ether are hidden in the lustre of the sun's rays—atoms are not visible in the light of the sun.

رونده را درین راه ببعضی مقامات روحانی گذر برده - روح (b)
از کسوت آب و گل مجرّد شود - پر تو نور حق بر تو تجلی کند
و روح درین حال در خلافت حق ید بیضا نماید - ذرق انا الحق
و سبحانی در خلوت بر رقت خویش یابد و پندار یافت و
وصول بمقصد درمی پدید آید - ²

A traveller happens to reach certain spiritual stations in this path. Soul becomes isolated from the dress of water and clay. The reflection of divine light dawns upon him and soul in this condition works wonders as vice-regent of God. He begins to feel the ardour of 'I am truth.' 'Holiness be to me!' in seclusion, and with this feeling comes also the realisation of the idea that his object is being realised.

SHAYKH SHARAF-UD-DĪN AS A ŠŪFĪ SAINT.

Šūfism, broadly speaking, is nothing but the substance of the teachings of the Prophet. A šūfī is a true follower of Islām. Like all the šūfis of eminence, Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn occupied a unique position. He practised what he preached.

The principles relating to Šūfī doctrine found practical illustration in his life. He was devoted to truth, rectitude, piety and humanity. He looked upon himself as the servant of humanity and discharged his duties to the best of his power.

Fear of God, self-abnegation, love of fellowmen, etc., qualities such as these weighed with him most. Self-introspection was a prominent phenomenon of his life. As a result of all this rigid adherence to principles of morality, the divine light peculiar to saints at this stage of life dawned within him, and he enjoyed the beauty of the True Beloved of whom all saints and seers speak with lavish praise. Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn had attained, as hinted above, to a very old age and his long life was a fruitful field of divine culture till he reached perfection, and became a perfect man in the true sense of the term.

It would not be out of place to mention the remarks of the learned about Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn.

¹ *Maktūbāt-i-Ḥadrat Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn Yahya of Munayr*—(Nawal Kishore Ed., 1911) p. 16.

Hājji Nizām Gharīb, the compiler of the *Latā'if-i-Ashrafi* writes:—

مفات ذات آن عالی مناقب * برون از حد و برتر از بیان است
 زه آن قدره إعجاب وجدان * خهی آن عمده از عارفان است
 شهی ملک ولا و والی پاک * که در ملک معارف کامران است
 جهان شد تازه از باد بهرش * بهار خرم از سروروان است
 دماغ آلوده از باغ فردوس * چراغ دوده فردوسیان است
 بساطین تازه دارد از ریاحین * ز گلزار معارف بوستان است¹

The qualities of the being of (Sharaf-ud-Dīn) of laudable attributes are beyond limit and description.

How excellent the leader of the people of ardour !

How excellent the pillar of gnostics !

He is the king of friendship and holy ruler.

He is successful in the realm of knowledge.

The mind is at rest through the garden of Paradise.

He is the candle of the family of the Firdawsīs.

He has fresh gardens of sweet basil.

He is a fruitful tree in the garden of knowledge.

Shaykh 'Abdul Haq observes:—

وی (شیخ شرف الدین) از مشائخ هندوستان ست - چه
 احتیاج که کسی ذکر مناقب او کند - او را تصانیف عالی ست -
 از جمله تصانیف او مکتوبات مشهور تر و لطیف ترین تصانیف
 اوست - بسیاری از آداب طریقت و اسرار حقیقت در آنجا
 اندراج یافته²

He (Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn Yahya of Munayr) is one of the distinguished saints of India. He is beyond praise. He has highly meritorious works to his credit. They contain principles of Sūfī path and the secret of truth.

'Abdullah Shattār, the head of the Shattāri order observes:—

بنده معتقد کسی نیست - همه بزرگان یکے اند - اما بنده
 معتقد سلطان المحققین حضرت شیخ شرف الحق والدین

¹ *Sirat-i-Sharaf* (Patna Ed.) p. 175.

² *Akbbār-ul-Akhyar*, p. 117.

منیری و بندگی حضرت خواجه فرید عطار هستم - و جائیکه
این هر دو بزرگان رسیده اند کسی کمتر رسیده است - و آنچه
که این هر دو بزرگان حقائق و دقائق راه دین بیان کرده اند -
کسی بیان نکرد است ¹

This humble self makes no distinction between holy men. They are all one and the same. But this servant believes in the king of the learned, Hadrat Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn Munayri and Khwaja Farīd 'Attār. Few have attained to the rank of these two servants ; and none has explained truths and subtleties of the path of religion like them.

¹ Sirat-i-Sharaf (Patna Ed.), p. 175.

SRI AUROBINDO AND THE MEANING OF EVOLUTION

HARIDAS CHAUDHURY, M.A.

WE have seen that it is because Life, Mind, Reason, etc., are already *involved* in the Inconscience of matter that the march of *evolution* brings them forth in successive order into articulate self fulfilment. But though the fact of involution gives a certain necessity and a definite orientation to the course of evolution, it is not sufficient to account for the ceaseless evolutionary drive. We shall, therefore, proceed now to consider in fuller detail the complete nîsus of evolution,—the varied forces which are at work behind the onward march of evolution.

Modern thinkers have made serious endeavours to explain evolution, its nîsus and its determinate order, without having recourse to any cosmic intelligence and conscious teleology. Alexander says that the 'drive' of evolution is to be traced to a creative nîsus, an urge with which space-time is impregnated. But whence this creative nîsus in space-time which is according to Alexander empty, in its simplest expression, of all qualities, not to speak of spiritual attributes? "Unless we assume," as Prof. Radhakrishnan puts it, "the nîsus to be a spiritual power ever drawing on its resources and ever expressing new forms, Alexander's whole account becomes unsatisfactory."¹ Further, Alexander cannot explain, as we have seen, from what source and in what miraculous way such qualities as materiality, vitality, mentality and personality emerge and get fitted into certain configurations of spatio-temporal elements or events.

Bergson has no difficulty with the problem of nîsus in so far as his ultimate principle is itself a creative nîsus, an infinite vital surge, *élan vital*. But since this *élan vital* is only an unconscious or at most semi-conscious life-energy, Bergson cannot explain the order and rythm of the cosmic flow. The *élan vital* is absolutely free in its creation, and Bergson understands by freedom the complete negation of all determination, whether it is determination *a tergo* or determination *a fronte*. But does not that reduce the flux of existence to a

* Concluded from the April issue.

¹ An Idealistic View of Life, p. 323.

meaningless chaos? Moreover, it is inconceivable how an absolutely indeterminate principle which is in the nature of an entirely aimless urge can give birth to determinate orders of existence, some of which are even capable of controlling and regulating its future course. It is only by shutting one's eyes to these glaring difficulties that one can identify the ultimate with an indeterminate and inconscient force. To discard every form of teleology is to rob the cosmic drift of all its order, rhythm and significance.

Since the facts of experience are too obstinate to permit a total rejection of teleology, recourse has been had to the notion of unconscious teleology. We find the doctrine of unconscious teleology expounded in one form in the Sankhya system. There are significant happenings in Nature, desirable issues emerging in implicit obedience to natural laws, yet Nature is completely devoid of all consciousness, she is *jaḍa*. But though Nature herself is *jaḍa*, there is behind all natural processes the constant presence of a detached and disinterested ever-awake onlooker, a self-luminous *Puruṣa* for whose sake Nature works and to whose contact evolution owes its initial start. This gives a different complexion to the Sankhya doctrine of unconscious teleology, and sharply distinguishes it from the theories of unconscious teleology which we find in Western philosophy.

Hoernlé's¹ attitude to the teleological point of view has been crystallised into the formula: "Not Mechanism or Vitalism, but Mechanism and Teleology." He admits that every new order of existence such as life or mind is without doubt the outcome of a mechanistic scheme of things and the result of unconscious forces. There is no need to posit any intelligence or principle of consciousness to preside over the mechanically controlled course of events. We may speak of teleology in the sense that after a new order of existence appears on the scene, we find it supremely valuable and desirable. It is this valuable and desirable character of the new product of evolution which justifies our language of teleology. Since the values are not only intrinsically good but also necessary facts by reason of being rigidly determined, the total scheme of the universe cannot be indifferent to them which it produces and sustains. But there seems to be an attempt here to hide the real difficulty and to cover it under a mist of

¹ Studies in Contemporary Metaphysics, Chapters VI and VII.

misleading phrases. The position of Hoernlé is, to put it plainly, that there is only mechanism, life, mind, etc., resulting from the conjunction of mechanical forces, though these mechanically produced things may also be immensely valuable in our estimation. And it is precisely here that the sting of the problem lies. How can an ascending series of supreme values such as life, mind and personality be brought into being by a set of blind forces which are blind without qualification? To speak of an unconscious teleology is simply to state the fact without any attempt at explanation.

Dr. Bosanquet also speaks of an unconscious teleology as also of a superconscious teleology, in addition to the teleology of human activity.¹ Bosanquet holds that explicitly conscious teleology which we notice at the human level is, far from being the only type and vehicle of teleology, only an intermediate form of expression of a deeper teleology which is operative in the cosmic process. The beautiful flower which we admire is neither a chance product thrown off by the wanton play of disconnected forces, nor a miracle super-induced on the course of things by an arbitrary will of God. It is rather the immanent development of its whole surroundings in which its plan was deeply embedded. It will be preposterous to place any intelligence in Nature to whom the plan of determinate objects must be explicitly present prior to their actual realisation. Similarly, there is super-conscious teleology which is exemplified in such supral-individual structures as a civilisation or a state. Take any civilisation of the present day you like, and it will be immediately evident that it was never explicitly present in all its present proportions and significance to the consciousness of any individual or group of individuals. But still there can be no disputing the fact that it is not an accidental formation, but the concrete realisation of a deeper purpose in the nature of things; it is the carrying into effect of a profounder plan which has worked through the co-ordination of the conscious activities of generations of men. The apparent motives of our human actions provide the instrumentation through which the deeper plan of Nature operates. Even in the case of finite conscious teleology it is such a deeper plan which is of capital importance. The end which is consciously held before our mind undergoes continuous modification and re-shaping under the pressure of the secret nature of things as

¹ The Principle of Individuality and Value, Lecture IV.

we press forward with our work of self-realisation. The *de facto* end is, as Dr. Bosanquet is never tired of reiterating, never the thing of primary or decisive importance. It is always determined by the nature of a system part of which has already been actualised, and the residual part of which awaits realisation for the completion or fulfilment of the nature of the actual. So Bosanquet concludes that "teleology is only a sub-form of Harmony." There are teleological movements in Nature because there is immanent in every finite part a spirit of harmony or a principle of totality which impels it to a self-transcending, and a consequent fuller self-realising. The deeper plan in the nature of things is the result of an all-pervasive immanence of the absolute in the universe. Now, this deeper plan cannot, we submit, be in any way inferior to our finite consciousness. It is, in truth, infinitely superior to human intelligence and must operate with absolute wisdom and a perfectly luminous vision. The bearer of this superconscious teleology is, to quote the language of Sri Aurabindo, "the will of the Universal Mother" who is the nature and power of Saccidānanda, the Absolute Spirit.

It is then the Will of the Divine Śakti, the Will to manifest the glories of spiritual being under the conditions provided by the material world, which supplies the real nisus of the unceasing march of evolution. But the Will of the Cosmic Mother or Divine Māyā operates not wantonly and arbitrarily but through a fixed machinery of laws and forces. In guiding the course of evolution, the Divine Will functions through the instrumentation of two closely co-operating forces.¹ First, there is an *upward-tending force from below* bringing forth into articulate expression an ascending series of reals, and this upward drive results from the involution of the higher in the lower, the involution of the Spirit with all the principles of His being in the Nescience of Matter, which we have already considered. Secondly, there is an *upward-drawing force from above* which results from the constant pressure exerted by the higher orders of existence upon the lower. This pressure and the consequent upward-drawing attraction not only help and accelerate the upward-tending force from below but also very largely determine the special ways in which it is eventually realised.

¹ *Life Divine*, Chapter 46.

We have already seen that according to Sri Aurobindo the world in which we live is only one among a multitude of orders of Divine self-manifestation. While in our world matter is the dominant principle and the starting point of the evolutionary process with other principles involved in it and gradually evolving from it, there are other orders of Divine self-realisation in one of which Life is the dominant principle, in another, Mind is the dominant principle, in another still, the Supermind or Spirit is the dominant principle. This separate dominance of each principle of being in different orders of God's self-fulfilment is not only a philosophical possibility, but a verifiable reality to which "all our spiritual and psychic experience bears affirmative witness." The pressure from above of the superior principles of the higher planes of existence is an imperative necessity for bringing forth into articulate expression and independent functioning the principles of Life, Mind, Personality, Spirit which are involved in Matter. This "upward-drawing force from above" acting in co-operation with "the upward-tending force from below" and jointly determining the specific course of evolution is especially in evidence in the progressive unfoldment and self-expansion of our own mind. The higher a man ascends on the path of spiritual progress, the stronger and the more insistent the uplifting forces from above that he feels, and the increasingly overwhelming the impact or pressure of the superior planes of existence on the mental, vital and physical levels that one experiences within oneself.

We have so long dealt with the forces which are at work behind the evolution of Life out of Matter, of the sense-mind of the animal out of life, and of the personality or intellectualised mind of man out of the sense-mind of the animal. The question that next arises is: Are we to suppose that the evolutionary process has reached its highest summit with the birth of human personality, and that Man is in truth the crowning consummation of evolution? Is it a fact that the only direction in which further progress lies would be in carrying to the utmost limit of development the powers and capacities of the mind and in an increasing realisation of man's moral and social ideals? Such a supposition would involve a complete misreading of the fundamental trend of evolution. There are numerous indications, or vaticinations we may say, in our own mental nature which point beyond our limited mentality and emphasise the necessity of mind's self-completion beyond itself. It is notorious that mind can never

reconcile its own paradoxes or self-discrepancies, as Bradley has demonstrated with the utmost thoroughness. Moreover, to say that man is the crown of evolution would be a ridiculous attempt to measure the possibilities of the infinite principle of creativity by the actualities of our limited and imperfect humanity. European prophets of evolution have envisaged, however faintly and indefinitely, levels of creation for transcending the mental. Bergson's *élan vital* is an endless and inexhaustible principle of creativity ever bringing to birth absolute novelties and unforeseen and unforeseeable qualities. Alexander has seen the vision of a Deity which will be essentially different from mind and which will be far superior and richer in character. He is loath to ascribe to this Deity any of the attributes of the mind, in howsoever magnified a form. We cannot indeed form in our mind any definite picture of the Deity, just as it was impossible for the animal to have had even the faintest idea of what human personality would be like, or as it was impossible for the plant to have had any glimpse of the conscious life of the animal. Such superlative attributes as omniscience, omnipotence, etc., which people generally ascribe to God are but figurative expressions of an infinitely superior type of unimaginable quality which Deity is.

To Sri Aurobindo also has come the vision of the Superman—a more definite and articulate vision ; and he has further devoted his whole life, a life of brilliant promise and of tremendous possibility, to a conversion of this flaming vision into an actual reality. There have been glimpses in almost all religions of a supra-human consummation of the evolutionary process. In Christianity, there has been the dream of a Kingdom of Heaven, or of a Reign of the Saints. In Hinduism, we have the conception of Satyayuga or Kingdom of Truth. There are, of course, men who believe that Heaven is Heaven and Earth is Earth, and that the twain shall never meet. They start by positing an essential discontinuity between Heaven and Earth, so that though the possibility of the emancipation of the human soul from its bondage and imperfections on earth into a heavenly region of infinite knowledge and bliss is admitted, the descending of Heaven on earth, or, what is the same thing, a transformation of earth into Heaven is strenuously combated. Sri Aurobindo, however, believes that it is the very purpose of evolution to effect in course of time such a radical transformation. Just as life which was latent in matter has been gradually released and evolved, and just as Mind

which was involved in life has been in due time released and evolved, so also there is involved in Mind a supra-mental power which is the instrument of the unbounded spirit or Saccidananda. It is the very purpose of evolution to bring into full manifestation in the realm of Matter the glorious riches of the Spirit.

According to Bergson and Alexander, there is no definite purpose or goal of evolution which is conceived as an endless process of evolving ever fresh novelties from a 'source-one-knows-not-what.' According to Sri Aurobindo, there is a deep-lain purpose in the process of evolution, and that purpose is to bring out into manifestation the Spirit which is all along secretly involved in Mind, in Life and also in the complete inconscience of Matter and which has been constantly guiding the course of evolution from behind the veil. While Alexander's Deity is an absolutely novel and unique quality, a quality which is but a future possibility towards whose actualisation the world of space-time is constantly straining forward, the Spirit, for Sri Aurobindo, is already real, is indeed the one sovereign reality which sustains and gives meaning to the whole process of evolution. It is only the manifestation of the Spirit in the universe which will be a unique achievement, the crowning consummation of the evolutionary process.

It will be instructive to note in this connection the difference between the race of angels supposed by Alexander to emerge out of the actualisation of Deity, and the ideal of supermen as envisaged by Aurobindo. On the actualisation of Deity, man will remain man, and an entirely new race of creatures, namely angels, will be ushered into existence on the basis of developed manhood, just as beasts have remained beasts even after the emergence of humanity, and so on still further back. But an analysis of the nature of man who is constantly upward-looking in his tendency and aspiration and who is Nature's great conscious term of transition leads Aurobindo to visualise the possibility of the collective transformation of humanity and the establishment of the long hoped-for Kingdom of Heaven on earth. This is in consonance with the characteristic Indian view that immortality is the birthright and necessary goal of every human soul, the view which W. James describes as "the democratic conception of immortality." Only, immortality means for Aurobindo not an escape from the world into a timeless experience of transcendent bliss, but an unspotted life of desireless activity ungrudgingly offered as an instrument of the Cosmic

Mother, with the soul firmly seated in Brahman-consciousness. A superman is to be a playmate of God and a fully conscious medium of the Divine Mother. The attainment of supermanhood is possible only through a complete transcending of the poise of our mental being, the integral self-surrender of man and the Grace of the Divine Mother being the chief factors of that transcendence. A superman is one in whom the supra-mental has descended not only into the soul and the heart and the intellect but even down into the very cells of the body so that every part of his being may vibrate with supreme joy and divine consciousness.

“Supermanhood is a certain divine and harmonious absolute of all that is essential in man.”¹ Absolute power should be joined in the superman to absolute love or bliss and also absolute knowledge. “To follow any one of these exclusively is to invite, after the first energy is over, God’s departure from us and denial.”² An exclusive attachment to Love will leave us impotent and empty of effective knowledge. Nietzsche was partially justified in revolting against the Christ-idea of God as mere Love. Love is divine but an exclusive worship of Love will not give us the essence of God. Nietzsche, however, falls into the opposite error of exaggerating power over everything else. His superman is an Asura or a Titan, who is “the son of division and the strong flowering of the Ego.” A true superman is one who has sacrificed his ego as a holocaust to the Divine Mother and has thereby come into real possession of absolute power instead of being possessed by it. “The Titan would unify by devouring, not by harmonising; he must conquer and trample what is not himself either out of existence or into subservience so that his own image may stand out stamped upon all things and dominating all his environment.”³ A true superman, on the contrary, is one who realises himself as one with God and through God with all the multitude of beings, so that from that realisation may flow bliss that is unalloyed and power that is unbounded.

¹ Sri Aurobindo’s *The Superman*, p. 8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

MODERN HOLLAND

DR. H. GOETZ

THE little country of the cheese? To most people the name of Holland evokes the idea of an idyllic peaceful country where gay and happy women in wooden clogs, wide black skirts and white lace-caps milk the cattle and where calm men in clogs, large pantaloons and a small pipe in their mouth produce cheese, in a low landscape of green meadows, canals with fisher-boats, tiny houses and wind-mills. This is Holland, no doubt! You may see such like scenes in many parts of this country, the best in such famous villages as Volendam and Marken or on Walcheren island which have always attracted the foreigners anxious to see picturesque dresses and customs.

The Real Holland.—And nevertheless, nothing would be a more distorted and wrong picture of Holland and of Dutch life than this idyl. For was not Holland only three centuries ago the leading maritime power and does it not possess a rich colonial empire even at the present day? Was it not the home of a number of the greatest artists of the world, and is it not even now a focus of cultural exchange? The real Holland is no more one of the grand powers in political life, but it is still a great commercial and cultural centre. The little country of the cheese is only the hinterland of a very modern civilization, the recreation ground and tourists' haunt of the bustling life of the big harbours of Amsterdam and Rotterdam which draw their forces and wealth from the maritime trade passing through the Channel.

The Dutch Character.—No doubt, the Dutch are a calm and gay nation. This is, however, not the result of an easy-going frivolity but of the self-confidence of a healthy, industrious and cautious people. The Dutch character is rather heavy and slow, cautious and critical, but at the same time industrious, persevering and eager of knowledge. And behind its peaceableness and sentimentality of home and family, there is the dream of adventures in far-off countries, and a stubborn love of independence. This cautious and peaceful disposition has created the idyllic atmosphere of the little country of the cheese. This industry and perseverance has transformed Holland into an economic and social model country, this critical desire for knowledge into a focus of cultural contacts, and this spirit of adventure into a maritime power.

A Model Country.—Holland is even much smaller than it looks on the map. For the tracts along the German and Belgian frontiers are thinly populated fens. The majority of her population of 7 millions, her economic activity and her cultural life centre along the shores and in the delta of the Rhine and the Maas. This is Holland proper, with its two extensions along the coast of the North Sea, Friesland and Zealand. In the early Middle Ages this tract was an unhealthy swamp behind a range of barren sand dunes. Dutch industry and perseverance have transformed this unpromising landscape into one of the most fertile countries of the world. It has strengthened the dunes and filled up the gaps between them by heavy masonry dams of a length of many miles, it has fortified the shores of the innumerable rivers and canals by strong earthen dikes, it has, only a decade ago, closed the big bay of the Zuyder Zee by an enormous dike. And behind these bulwarks a network of smaller dikes encloses innumerable "polders" which are kept dry by the pumps of the famous Dutch windmills. But some of these "polders" are so much below the sea-level that from their bottom you will see the sails of canal-boats above your head, and when you have reached the level of the dikes, you will soon reach another dike where you can see the river-steamers above your head, and finally you will make the same experience a third time until you reach the river borders. These low-lying tracts are drained by big steam pumps, and a system of flood-gates and sluices has to keep the waters of the sea and of the rivers outside. But these wet meadows of the "polders," growing on fertile river-sediments, are an insuperable grazing-ground for innumerable herds of excellent milk cattle which produce the famous Dutch milk butter and cheese. On the light sand of the dunes many fine vegetables, grapes, etc., are grown, often in hot-houses extending like villages, and the Dutch flowers, tulips, hyacinths, etc., are famous everywhere. On the other hand, there are not sufficient cereals, and corn and wheat must be imported from Canada, Argentina, Australia, etc. A net of beautiful garden cities covers this fertile country, small houses because of the marshy ground, but in the midst of charming gardens, and with all the comfort of our time. They have enclosed the old towns with their picturesque canals which are no more sufficient for our standards of sanitation.

A CULTURAL CENTRE

As the Dutch are peaceful, industrious and thrifty, the economic life experiences crises only as far as the wealth of the country depends on international trade. But even the last world crisis has not been able to upset its sound economics and social peace. The Dutch spirit of independence and co-operation has not only averted a too wide gulf between rich and poor, it has made possible a strong democracy on a denominational basis, crowned by a constitutional monarchy hereditary in the family of the founder of Dutch independence, William the Silent of Orange. This atmosphere of liberty, peace and wealth has always been very favourable to the cultivation of cultural interests. It may perhaps not rise the ultimate questions of humanity, but it neither arouses the passions obscuring a clear and unbiased outlook on life. Besides many mercantile connections and travels bring the Dutch into a close contact with the cultural activities of their neighbours. The average middle-class Dutchman is, therefore, at home not only with the philosophic, artistic and literary production of his own country, but also with those of Belgium, France, England and Germany. Many associations cultivate the study of foreign countries, the theatres of France and Germany pay regular visits to The Hague and Amsterdam, there is an Italian opera, and foreign artists and writers are well-received guests. Holland is one of the leading countries in the modern style of architecture, and painting is a hobby of most Dutchmen. Berlage, Dudok and Oud have made modern Dutch architecture famous, Sluyters and van Dongen are its best living painters, in the field of music Diepenbroeck and Mengelberg are dominating; Dutch literature is, however, much less known as it deals almost only with local problems; but Multatuli, Couperus, Fabritius and Mrs. Roland-Holst van der Schalk have become known also outside the Dutch frontiers. On the whole the Dutch excel more in scientific research; Leyden University is best in Oriental, medical and physical studies and has laid part of the basis of Einstein's relativity theory, Utrecht specializes in political science and economics, Groningen in classical studies and theology, Delft in engineering, Rotterdam in commercial science, Wageningen in agriculture.

A MERCANTILE POWER

In spite of the excellent development of Dutch agriculture, the chief source of national wealth is the sea. Holland was always famous

for her herring-fisheries which are now somewhat eclipsed by the Japanese competition. Shipbuilding and water engineering, too, are prosperous industries. The Dutch navigation is still very important, especially that to Central and South America, Africa and South Eastern Asia. The colonies produce spices, sugar, coffee, tea, tin, bauxite, etc. But the extensive sugar production of Java has undergone a dangerous crisis because of the Indian import duties and of Far Eastern events, which led to a marked emigration to the surrounding isles. The trade between Holland and her colonies was long the monopoly of the *Nederlandsche Handels Maatschappij* and a great part of it is still controlled by this Trust. On the other hand the "Royal Dutch," in close collaboration with the "British Shell," represents one of the most powerful oil concerns of the world, under the direction of Sir Henry Deterding. In the last years Netherlands India has been linked to the mother country by the K. L. M. (Royal Air Transport Company) which competes with the Imperial Airways and the Air France on its way across British India.

CAN HOLLAND REMAIN INDEPENDENT ?

How can such a small nation defend such a rich country in Europe and overseas which must arouse the covetousness of neighbours like Germany and Japan ? In the past the Dutch have fiercely fought for their independence against the Spaniards and the French, assisted by the swamps of their country. But against modern war machinery these natural defences are of little value, and the Dutch army and navy would not be a match against the gigantic armaments of our days. Since the times of Queen Elizabeth, however, the British have become interested in the independence of the Netherlands as a bulwark of the English coasts, and at the present day they would resent an attack on Holland as much as the invasion of Belgium in 1914; and the integrity of the Dutch Indies is an essential point in their control of the Indian Ocean. No military alliance mars the independence and neutrality of Holland; nevertheless these are more or less guaranteed by their community of interests with the British Commonwealth. Holland's greatness is founded on its international position of a commercial and cultural mediator; without this latter it would soon revert to the idyllic little country of the cheese.

INVESTMENT PROBLEMS OF INDIAN INSURANCE COMPANIES AND THE NEW INSURANCE LAW

PRABODHRANJAN GUPTA, M.A., F.C.I.I.

THE problem of investment of Insurance funds is one of the most complicated of problems that confront the administration of Insurance Companies, for not only is it necessary that these funds should be invested in absolute security to safeguard the interests of the policyholders but it is almost as imperative that these investments should yield a return sufficiently high to make the smooth working of Insurance Companies possible. As a matter of fact the question of yield is increasingly becoming a very difficult one in view of the rapidly falling rate of interest in all stabilised countries of the world.

In the early days of Insurance business these problems were comparatively simple. All that the Company executives needed to do was to find out certain items of safe investment which in those days always yielded sufficient returns to make life assurance business profitable. In 1862 Bailey laid down five important canons of investment which in themselves comprised the whole problem of investment. His canons were:—

- (1) That the first consideration should be the absolute security of capital.
- (2) That the highest practical rate of interest be obtained compatible with security.
- (3) That a small portion of the total funds should be readily convertible to meet current needs.
- (4) That the remaining and larger portion of the funds should be invested in long term securities not readily convertible.
- (5) That as far as practicable the capital should be employed to aid life assurance business.

For many years British Insurance Companies followed Bailey's principles of investment with unflinching loyalty and the results had been on the whole quite satisfactory. With changing times, however, which in their trail brought mighty upheavals both political and

economic, the problems of Insurance Companies took a much more complicated form. Bailey's principles orthodoxly followed no longer suited current conditions and radical Actuaries set themselves thinking in order to devise new methods suitable to new conditions. The Great War had brought about conditions that in the past had never been foreseen. Securities which in the past had been regarded as absolutely secure were subjected to such enormous fluctuations that it was impossible to regard them as absolutely stable as they had been regarded in the past. Thus British Consols which in 1896 were quoted as high as 113 $\frac{7}{8}$ fell to 76 $\frac{3}{8}$ in 1911 and 44 $\frac{5}{8}$ in 1921. Further in view of the rapidly falling interest it was realised that unless particular attention was given to the question of yield of Insurance funds it would be very difficult for Insurance Companies to maintain their existing attractive offers to the public. Concerted action had, therefore, become imperative and various organisations were set up to bring into operation "an active policy" of investment in contradistinction with orthodox methods.

Conditions in India show a complete absence of any policy or principle of investment of insurance funds. Further to add to the difficulty the new Insurance Act has provided for the regulation of investment by laying down that 55% of the policy liabilities should be invested in approved securities. An examination of the methods that have become necessary to meet the difficulties of investment in other countries clearly shows that mere statutory limitation of investments in particular classes of investments cannot solve the very complicated problems of insurance investment. The enormous fluctuations to which government securities have been subjected in recent years both in this and in other countries have shown beyond doubt that investment in government securities do not conduce to the stability of Insurance Companies to nearly the extent to which it had been supposed to do in the past. Further what at one time are regarded as very safe and profitable forms of investments may not at other times appear equally so. The wisdom of leaving investment to the discretion of the Insurance executives, therefore, has always been admitted by insurance experts.

The history of Insurance legislation in other countries shows that restriction of investment to the extent it has been done in India is something unique. British Companies have thrived admirably under the principle of 'freedom and publicity.' The Clauson Committee in

recommending revisions of the existing British Law were of opinion that no statutory restrictions in the investment of funds were necessary except that without the sanction of the court no investment should be made in the shares of any other Insurance Companies. The Canadian Law which stands out as an example of state control of Insurance also provides for no restriction in investment except that not more than 15% of the assets should be invested in common stocks. In America too restriction only applies to investment in common stocks.

In order that the investment position of Insurance Companies in India may be examined a Chart showing the percentages of investment in different items is given below :—

PERCENTAGES.

	1921	1927	1929	1931	1933	1934	1935	1936
Mortgages ...	1'67	4'92	3'68	3'19	3'59	3'13	4'01	3'88
Loans on Policies ...	7'43	7'92	7'16	8'75	9'08	8'83	8'84	8'76
Loans on Personal securities ...	1'67	0'73	...	...	...	...	...	...
Loans on Stocks and Shares ...	...	...	1'75	0'99	0'14	0'41	0'60	0'28
Indian Government securities ...	58'74	51'65	52'04	59'24	49'83	49'94	50'54	51'46
Municipal and Port Trust Debentures ...	14'14	17'84	14'46	13'42	13'45	12'21	10'25	9'82
Securities of Indian States ...	...	...	...	...	0'39	0'46	0'49	0'65
Land and Buildings ...	5'75	5'73	5'00	4'93	5'13	5'22	5'26	5'89
Shares of Indian Companies ...	1'55	3'74	3'29	4'06	4'62	3'29	6'12	6'77
Deposits, Cash and Stamps ...	2'25	2'18	3'80	2'71	3'72	4'15	4'56	4'36
Capital Expenditures ...	1'08	0'73	0'45	0'45	0'54	0'60	0'47	} 7'27
Miscellaneous items ..	5'72	4'56	5'89	6'96	3'07	8'36	7'55	
British, Colonial and Foreign Government securities } ...	...	...	2'48	2'00	1'44	1'40	1'31	0'86

On an examination of the Chart it will be noted, however, that in the periods under review about 70% of the assets of Indian Insurance Companies had been invested in approved securities including policy loans (of which 52% is in government securities) and it might be asked as to what difficulties there can be in complying with the condition of

investing 55% in approved securities. The answer to this is as follows:—

The trends of the future will not necessarily be the same as those of the present. With rapidly growing industrial conditions in the country it might be found more expedient and profitable to divert some of the investments to industrial debentures and stocks. Further if in the future 55% of all the rapidly increasing funds of Insurance Companies are to be invested in gilt-edge, the supply of such securities being limited, the invariable tendency will be to artificially raise the value of such securities thereby diminishing the return of the assets of Insurance Companies. Another point is worthy of note; the figures quoted above are not a proper index of the percentages of investment of Indian Companies in general, because these figures have been given an undue weightage by the huge funds of the "Oriental" which are overwhelmingly invested in gilt-edge. If the funds of this Company are left out the percentages for the year 1936, for instance, would work out to be 32.6% in government securities and 55% in approved securities.

Perhaps a better idea of the position can be obtained by examining the chief classes of investment of some of the important Insurance Companies in India.

PERCENTAGES

	Oriental.	Empire.	National.	Hindusthan Co-operative.		United India.	Bombay Mutual.	Calcutta.	National Indian.
Mortgages ...	Nil	Nil	8.6	30	26*	16	15	16	14
Policy Loans ...	10	14	13	9	9	14	6	8	13
Industrial Shares and Debentures ...	27	Nil	33	6	10	2	16	9	16
Government Securities ...	75	60	15	11	10	27	16	56	22
Municipal and Port Trust Debentures ...	6	20	14	2	8	1.3	25	Nil	26
House and Land property	2.5	1.9	9	24	21	7	14	.5	Nil

N.B.—The figures relate to the year 1936 and are approximate.

* These figures relate to the year 1937. They are given to show the change in the investment policy of the "Hindusthan Co-operative" that has taken place in recent years.

The general effect, therefore, of the insistence of the provisions of the Act will be to lower the earning power of Insurance Companies considerably. The Government Blue Book for the year 1937 gives the following percentages of rates of interest earned by Indian Insurance Companies for the quinquennium 1932-1936 :—

Year	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
Rate of interest	5·38	5·17	5·08	4·93	4·69

After the new Act becomes operative on the 1st July, 1939 the future earnings of the representative Insurance Company may be classified as follows :—

Investments.	Average Earning,
45% of funds invested in gilt-edge	@ 3% (after deduc of Income Tax).
10% in policy loans ... ..	... 6%
12½% in industrial shares including preference shares and debentures ... ..	... 5%
12½% in mortgages ... ..	... 6%
5% in house and land properties	4%
10% in agents' balances, capital expenditures and dead stock, etc.	0%
5% in cash, in banks and miscellaneous	1%
TOTAL	<hr/> 3·575%

This is not a conservative estimate of the future earning power of Insurance Companies. It might be that certain Companies now favourably placed will temporarily be able to earn somewhat higher interest but in the long run after all factors have worked themselves out the level of earnings is bound to approximate the above figures assuming that the rates of interest yielded by particular classes of investment remain what they are now. In this connection it will not be out of place to remark that if the Moneylenders' Bill now before the Bengal

Legislature is passed without amendment mortgage as a form of investment of Insurance Companies will cease to exist in Bengal.

At the present time Indian Insurance Companies have been carrying on their valuations at about 4% to 4½% interest. The conditions that will be brought about after the provisions of the new Act come into force will necessitate these Companies carrying on their valuations from the near future at 3% to 3½%. Under existing conditions this would mean a serious hardship and Companies will be faced with the problem of raising their premium rates or reducing their bonuses or both. It is hoped that in the future certain margins will arise from better mortality experience (which better sanitary conditions and more modern conditions of living will bring about) and lower expense ratios. But the savings on these items will not compensate the losses due to interest specially in the endowment plans of policies where investment plays a more important part. It is worthy of note that the Indian Life Offices' Association has already taken an initiative in the direction of devising ways and means for reducing the expenses of Companies. If their suggestions are accepted by Member Companies certain items of unnecessary expenditure can be immediately curtailed.

It will be interesting in this connection to make a reference to a paper read before the Insurance Institute of London in 1935 by Mr. R. C. Simmonds, F.I.A., in which he discussed how rates of premium will be affected if rate of interest falls to 0%. While he had shown that life insurance under such conditions will not become impossible, much of its attractiveness from the investment point of view will be lost. This, of course, applies to Great Britain where mortality and expenses of management are much lower. It is doubtful if life assurance will at all be possible in India if rate of interest falls to 0% under present conditions. This, however, is by way of a diversion.

While criticising the provisions of the Insurance Act in India regarding investment it has to be conceded that under the circumstances obtaining in the country at the time of the passing of the Bill such a provision appeared to be almost a necessity because of the indiscriminate and somewhat unscrupulous policy of investment pursued by some of the Insurance executives. Further, the wide-spread illiteracy among the masses which make it impossible for them to discriminate between good and indifferent Companies compelled the legislators to impose such measures as were necessary to protect the unwary insuring

public. But while it is possible to appreciate the spirit in which the legislation was imposed the effect of the legislation on the Companies that are carrying on business on sound principles will, as has already been stated, be unsatisfactory. As a matter of fact one is almost inclined to think that after the new Act has succeeded in making sense prevail in the more wayward of the Insurance Companies and after its adverse effect on the better Companies will have begun to be felt, the Government will be moved to amend the present legislation in as far as it relates to insurance investment.

To emphasise how important it is to leave investments to the discretion of the insurance executives themselves, provided these executives can be depended upon, will be even more apparent if we review the trend of investment of British Companies for the last half a century or more. Taking four important classes of investments, *viz.*, (1) Mortgages, (2) Loans on Policies, (3) British, Indian and Colonial Government Securities and (4) Debentures, Stocks and Shares, it is remarkable to observe how particular classes have found great favour in particular periods, and became less popular in other periods. The Chart is given below :—

PERCENTAGES

Year	1871	1885	1892	1912	1921	1926	1932
Mortgages ...	47·04	46·18	39·3	21·8	9·6	7·9	10·97
Loans on Policies ...	4·81	4·68	4·4	5·3	2·6	3·8	4·51
British, Indian and Colonial Govt. Securities.	12·28	7·42	9·1	5·7	40·4	37·5	30·70
Debentures. Stocks and Shares	12·34	12·08	17·5	33·0	17·8	24·7	29·48

It will be noticed that mortgages which during the last century accounted for nearly half the investments of Insurance Companies have in recent years fallen to a bare 10%. This fall in popularity of mortgages is not due to the fact that there was something inherently wrong in mortgages as a form of investment but because with the growth and stabilisation of industries in the country industrial investment began to find more favour. Again much of the business of mortgage is now done through the issue of debenture. Further the comparatively low yield of mortgages together with the option of repayment at a time when interest rates are falling contributed to the unpopularity of mortgages as a form of investment.

Government Securities show a marked increase but much of this increase resulted from War time purchases which have been induced not only by the high rate of interest offered on War Bonds and Stocks but also through a sense of patriotism as Insurance Companies felt that it was their duty to make as much of their funds available to Government as possible during the trying years of the War.

Industrial investments also increased remarkably for reasons already stated above.

In conclusion it is hoped that after all the bitterness of controversy has subsided things will be adjusted to the normal and better conditions on the whole will prevail. In the light of future experience it will become necessary to make alterations and modifications both in legislation and practice to suit changing conditions. In the meantime there is no reason to be very pessimistic as with a little accommodation and adjustment fairly workable results can be obtained.

II

SOME ASPECTS OF RECENT ENGLISH FICTION *

SRICHANDRA SEN, M.A.

PROBLEM novels and novels, which are written to push forward some favourite project, are still quite common. Slums, the condition of labour at mining centres, the distress which talent of a high order has to face when it leaves the beaten track, the ethical problem of subordinating sentiment to social necessity, war, the horrors of industrialism—all these and more have appeared as minor subjects or major ones in contemporary fiction. However presented, they suggest a problem and initiate a propaganda for improving and humanising the conditions of social life by concentrating attention on certain facts relating to our collective existence. To mention a few concrete instances, Wells has repeatedly made his characters lament the lack of co-ordination in the efforts of men and women which, as they assert, do not prosper for being scattered and disconnected. His dream of a world-state is built upon the future regimentation of work and the elimination of competition. He thus carries on a socio-political propaganda through his novels, the nature of which may be shown by this short excerpt:—

“There will be a Supreme Court determining *not* International Law, but World Law. There will be a growing code of World Law.

There will be a World Currency.

There will be a ministry of posts, transports, and communication generally.

There will be a ministry of trade in staple products and for the concentration and development of the natural resources of the earth.

There will be a ministry of social and labour conditions.

There will be a ministry of world health.

There will be a ministry, the most important ministry of all, watching and supplementing national educational work and taking up the care and stimulation of backward communities.¹ Etc. etc.

* Continued from our last issue.

¹ The Salvaging of Civilization by H. G. Wells.

Wells has stated his ideas regarding education somewhat elaborately in his novel “Joan and Peter.”

This list does not exhaust the reforms which Wells desires to carry through. Hundreds of them have occurred to him by which he desires to free human society from its 'muddle' and stabilise it. In any case it is not a new dream. Omar Khayyam had dreamt it when he wished so memorably "to grasp this sorry Scheme of things entire" so that he might "Remould it nearer to the Heart's Desire."¹

Lawrence lays many of his English scenes in his fiction in the mining districts of England and, although his attitude is far from that of a propagandist, he sometimes makes a character speak sadly of the mischief being done by industrialism to nature and the human soul.² He has, however, consistently espoused the doctrine which, heretical as it may appear to others, seems to have his genuine support. It may be stated in the words of Lady Chatterley: 'Give me the body. I believe the life of the body is a greater reality than the life of the mind: when the body is really awakened to life... The human body is just coming to real life. With the Greeks it gave a lovely flicker, then Plato and Aristotle killed it and Jesus finished it off. But now the body is coming really to life.'³ This opinion which Lawrence has allowed to occupy a prominent place in the novel is intended by him to explode the theory of the mind's inherent superiority to the body. He will not have "minds tacked on to their physical corpses." Commendable or otherwise, it is a new attitude, and kept within certain limits it can effect quite a healthy change in a world in which the body is often held to be no more than "an encumbrance."⁴ Unfortunately, however, the body in the other extremity has been too much exulted in defiance of truth and moderation, and the new attitude, instead of impressing us with its fidelity to experience, sometimes fills us with repugnance by its shameless excess. The body element thus objectionably preponderates in a number of scenes in Lawrence's "Women in Love."⁵ Sensuality is thus defended by Birkin: "...It is a fulfilment—the great dark knowledge you can't have in your head—the dark involuntary being. It is death to one's self—but it is the coming into being of another."⁶

¹ Omar's Lament, translated by Fitzgerald, Golden Treasury Series (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1928), p. 454.

² Lady Chatterley's Lover (Secker), p. 200.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁵ Women in Love (Secker), p. 44.

⁶ Undertones of War by E. Blunden.

The anti-war propaganda started its career in right earnest soon after the War. A well-mannered protest was made as early as 1922 by C. E. Montague in his "Disenchantment." The book achieved much popularity by the qualities of its style and sympathy. The note first heard in this book grew in harshness and irony in later works by the same author as "Fiery Particles," and "Rough Justice," where his tone becomes almost violently anti-war. "All Quiet on the Western Front" by Erich von Remarque carried the same propaganda almost to every civilised country, reinforced by sound pictures, pointing out the futility of modern warfare in which immense carnage goes on mechanically, and personal valour and idealism are denied all scope. How a generation of youth, which included men of first-rate powers, was swept away by the fury of the War which raged for about five years has been told by many writers.¹ Richard Aldington's "Death of a Hero" should also be mentioned in this connexion. Those who survived the War often lived as moral wrecks. That lesson was brought home by Aldington. But he was not alone in this realisation. The ex-soldier on his return from War "found himself living in a rather worse world than he lived in June 1914." This gave rise to the sense that the suffering and sacrifice of millions of young men were made in vain, and that the facts of the situation on the eve of the War were deliberately misinterpreted, giving them the complexion of a high patriotic idealism when indeed they could not bear any searching criticism. Other popular works of fiction in which some kind of anti-war propaganda is envisaged are Hutchinson's "If Winter Comes," Ernest Hemingway's "A Farewell to Arms," Wells's "Mr. Bristling Sees It Through," etc. They view the disaster of 1914-18 from different angles, but as they seek to speak about it sanely, they in effect constitute a kind of propaganda against war. It is not necessary to refer to other novels of this class. Our aim being to indicate some prominent tendencies in contemporary English fiction, it will not serve any useful purpose by lengthening the present list.

Almost every problem can now be discussed in the novel. One reason for this is the great diffusion of knowledge which marks

¹ *Vide* *Undertones of War* by E. Blunden. The anti-war propaganda may be clarified into vulgar-popular and intelligent-popular with reference to its literary results. Hutchinson and Philip Gibbs (*The Middle of the Road*) are examples of the latter, while Aldington, Wells, Montague, being penetrative critics of the war, are examples of the former.

this age as well as the facilities for acquiring information on any subject, brought about the popularisation of every branch of learning, for which credit is due to enterprising publishers. The restraint which was observed before the War has now disappeared. In pre-War days the sense of propriety did not lead to a curtailment of themes, but a less openness of manner was in fashion. Commenting on this new freedom, Frank Swinnerton observes that it is "but a further stage in self-consciousness."¹ The post-War novels clearly reflect the religious, moral and political upheaval which characterizes the new generation. Any incident may now be related. This is a gain on the side of frankness and sincerity, but one which may easily be abused as will be noticed on a reference to some of the novels of Michael Arlen and Alec Waugh whose performances are, however, of no great literary value. The sex element plays a larger part in literature than it has ever done before. The responsibility cannot be laid on the shoulders of the novelists nor on those of psycho-analysts. The popularity of fiction which satisfies this taste indicates that nothing has been thrust upon the public. John Carruthers has shrewdly observed : "The readers themselves demand that a great deal of sexual experimentation shall be carried on for them vicariously in the pages of the books."² The post-Restoration England saw something very like this, although on a much smaller scale and having very little of the significance of the present movement.

In this brief survey of recent English fiction more attention is being given to the work that followed the War than what preceded it. A word of explanation seems called for for such deliberate partiality. Fiction before 1914 was more or less in the older tradition, and appears now to be the product of an age with which the new generation is not much in sympathy. The post-War fiction shows a number of new developments which, apart from the question of their intrinsic merit, are interesting to watch, and, vacillating as they seem, the future of English fiction depends on them. The characteristic of the new fiction as of the new generation is its self-consciousness and a general scepticism about the value of all emotions. Hence it has not succeeded in giving us any such idyllic picture of love as we find,

¹ The Georgian Literary Scene by Frank Swinnerton (William Heinemann, Ltd., 1935), p. 454.

² Scheherazade or The Future of the English Novel (To-day and To-morrow Series) by John Carruthers, p. 28.

for instance, in the celebrated scene in *Richard Feverel* in which young Richard meets Miss Desborough and is at once struck by the power of love.¹ The poetry of that scene has not been often rivalled outside of Shakespeare and it is probably unfair to expect anything like this from a generation which must live or die by the standard of rationality.

As Oliver Onions says: "But to-day writers and painters no longer speak from Sinai-clouds. Rather, from the pavement-edge, packed closer than the vendors of penny-toys."² This, of course, does not mark any fundamental cleavage with the past. In fact, the phenomenon cannot be even properly regarded as new in any sense, for Whitman, the American poet, emphatically proclaimed it in "Leaves of Grass" which was first published in 1855 in the shape of a small volume, containing only 12 poems. In Shaw's play, "Too True To Be Good" (first published in 1934), Aubrey has a few words about post-War literature. He tries to put the matter as nicely as he can instead of saying it straight out. He divides the human physiognomy into higher centres and lower centres. The former, he says, had been vocal in literature, and were a kind of badge to be worn for respectability's sake even when one is telling a lie. But the badge has been blown off since the War, and the lower centres have become vocal.³ This does not add much information to our stock but it says cleverly enough that the grosser passions and instincts, which were not usually clothed with a literary dignity, have now acquired a new status and reference to them may be made freely.

Instead of trusting to a few primary instincts and sentiments, the novelist can now introduce a multiplicity of interests for the success of his work. Bishops, businessmen, biologists, chemists, physicists, historians, all speaking in their familiar phrases, offer a multiplicity of points of view, and this multiplicity is the essence of the new way of looking.⁴ The ideas regarding literary art are fast undergoing a thorough change. Art is neither imitation nor 'expression,' nor again is it for its own sake. In Russia it sometimes acts as a handmaid of advertisement and it is now quite usual to hold that art cannot be divorced from some kind of propaganda. Viewed in this

¹ *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* by George Meredith, Chapter XV.

² *Little Devil Doubt. The Georgian Literary Scene* by Frank Swinnerton, p.

³ *Vide Too True To Be Good* by George Bernard Shaw, pp. 65-66.

⁴ *Vide Point Counter Point*, p. 266.

light it cannot rise above partisanship, and must identify itself with the interests of the Communist, the Fascist, the Nazi, or some other political camp. This attitude will be the origin of a large volume of literary work which the older canons would summarily reject. 'Impressionism,' which has flourished in art since the War, has also become a literary method with the "stream of consciousness" type of novelists and bids fair to hold its ground steadily for some time to come. Although much criticised in the beginning, it has now definitely established its vogue and its legitimacy as a form of art is no longer seriously questioned.

The disillusioned character of modern literature, to which we have had occasion to draw attention, is the result of a wrong way of looking at life. The facts relating to states of emotion are idealised before they are empirically understood and hence when the young writers come back from the dust and discomfort of actual experience, they produce a rather weary picture which is neither adequate nor just, reflecting as it does a disappointed mood. Aldous Huxley makes Philip, who is a keen observer, thus analyse this disillusionment: "We're brought up topsy-turvy. Art before Life, *Romeo and Juliet* and filthy stories before marriage....Hence all modern literature is disillusioned. Inevitably....We start with the poetical and proceed to the unpoetical."¹ The explanation does not, however, seem to cover all the facts. The outlook manifested in literature is built upon the sands which the sea of retiring faith has left behind. It has emerged out of an atmosphere of uncertain beliefs and the lack of any conviction to hold on to. It is also partly the result of the economic factors which are now at work. Comprehensively speaking, it is connected with new modes of thought which the post-War mentality ushered in after a series of experiments whose tentative quality still clings to it; science and scepticism have combined to take away from this generation any rest from the serenity of a settled belief. Even truth is relative. The era of absolutes is over with the emergence of Einstein. Religion has little significance in the general estimate. It is anathema in Russia and does not call forth any sincere zeal in the Protestant countries. Shortly after the War one hundred thousand churches closed down in America.² An increasing number of educated

¹ Point Counter Point, p. 895.

² Vide Scheherazade (To-day and To-morrow Series), p. 16.

men have ceased to belong to any Church. Love has more often been celebrated as a physical phenomenon than as a spiritual reality. Some of these ideas have come in reaction against the conventions which tended to curtail individual freedom, and are, therefore, to be studied in their true, historical perspective. The tone of the post-war literature, with all its oscillation and uncertainty, is often pre-eminently courageous. It will analyse all faith and affection out of existence and will not care to erect new attachments to take their place. Suspicion is cast even upon the achievement of science. "After all, the only truth that can be of any interest to us, or that we can know, is a human truth. And to discover that, you must look for it with the whole being, not with a specialized part of it. What the scientists are trying to get at is non-human truth. And the non-human truth isn't merely irrelevant ; it's dangerous. It distracts people's attention from the important human truth. It makes them falsify their experience in order that lived reality may fit in with abstract theory."¹ Few indeed would be prepared to hear such an observation made in a book by Aldous Huxley, whose devotion to science is a matter of family tradition as well as of acquired culture, and yet there he is, warning against a danger which certainly is not imaginary. As to the remarks about human truth, they form one of the many points of view presented in the book and do not constitute an argument for general faith in it. Wells represents the opposite extreme of the view held in the passage quoted above, and he will surely never be accused of wanting a faith. He has repeatedly set it forth in his books. But he belongs to the pre-War world. Indeed it was before the War that his best work in the popular kind of fiction was done. Then the propagandist strain grew in him, and he invented characters who could state and re-state the ideas he sponsored as thinker and publicist, could in fact incorporate them with their lives. Galsworthy, Bennett, Barrie, Shaw, all came into the limelight of literature before the War brought in its wake those ideas which have practically affected every important question in the life of a European. The intimate relations of life, child psychology, individual idiosyncrasy are now all studied carefully so that the knowledge acquired in this way may serve some practical end. The relation between the sexes is not now regarded as merely personal. Governments have felt themselves called upon to

¹ *Point Counter Point*, pp. 554-55.

undertake more detailed regulation of sexual life in the interest of the species. The multifarious changes that have taken place and the increased tempo of life which mark off the age from any on record have rendered this epoch highly transitional, and the literary work produced in it fully indicates the atmosphere of hurry and experimentation from which the new generation cannot escape. A further reason, already stated, explaining this phenomenon is the absence of a definite faith.

Psycho-analysis¹ which was a personal equipment with the artist, combining the elements of insight and observation, has now been erected into a science by Freud, Jung, Ferenz and Adler, whose investigation into the unconscious has led to many remarkable experiments in the sphere of Art and Literature. There was a period of undue emphasis on psycho-analysis when ideas borrowed from Freud and others were hastily dished up in fiction with very little regard for the truth of art. This undesirable excess is to be noticed in the works of J. D. Beresford, Miss May Sinclair and Miss Rebecca West. D. H. Lawrence also carries his analysis now and then too far to preserve the artistic harmony of his work. Such a defect is to be noticed in the relations between Birkin and Hermione,² where the subtlety and skill employed to set off the one against the other seem a little overdone. Psycho-analysis entered as a conscious element into English literature with Henry James. He was an American who concerned himself with the tone, colour and composition of his stories in the beginning of his literary career. His attitude was that of a professional artist which he was. Towards the end of the last century he found himself losing touch with the literary world where he seemed to fall into disfavour. He redeemed his position by "What Maisie Knew" (1897). This work marks an important departure in the history of fiction. Maisie's knowledge, to which the reader is given access, slowly, laboriously, as she acquired it herself, becomes an illuminating commentary upon her character. The knowledge abstractly is not interesting but it becomes so viewed in its bearing upon Maisie's character. James thus transfers the centre of interest from physical facts to the echoes they raise in the human soul, and with him began an epoch in which the story

¹ "Psycho-analysis" is only used as a technical term for a specific kind of psycho therapeutic treatment. But as the term is now in use in literary criticism, no effort is here made to discover a more suitable expression which will be less objectionable on literary grounds.

² In "Women in Love."

element came to be neglected till in the novel of ideas it has practically disappeared.

The interest in psychology which came into prominence with Henry James grew more and more under the influence of Tolstoy and Dostoievsky, whose pre-eminence as psychological novelists is universally acknowledged. They were first available in English in the beginning of the present century. The characters of Raskolnikov, Sonia, Maslova and the Prince, Anna Karenina, etc., stimulated interest in the inner consciousness whose movements were now studied with closer attention than ever before.

The example of these literary masters was at any rate more salutary and easier to appreciate than the scientific studies inaugurated by Freud and other thinkers which had no immediate good effect on literature. The names of the different complexes¹ were popularised and the merest literary tiro would make use of them giving his work a pseudo-scientific air.²

(Concluded.)

¹ Superiority-Complex, Inferiority-Complex, Narcissus Complex, Oedipus-Complex, etc.

² This forms the Introduction to my work on Recent English Fiction, some chapters of which have already been published in the pages of this Journal.

FUTURE OF INDUSTRIAL FINANCE IN INDIA : AN INDUSTRIAL MORTGAGE BANK FOR INDIA *

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II

PROPORTION OF BONDS TO SHARE CAPITAL

AS already stated, the Industrial Mortgage Bank of India will issue bonds against the securities of the mortgages handed over to it by the several Provincial Institutions. Besides the paid-up share capital, the main source of funds for its operation will come from the proceeds of its bond issues. An important question which must be settled at this stage is what proportion the bonds issued by the Bank will bear to its capital and reserves. The sums obtained by a mortgage bank by issuing its bonds are analogous to the deposits received by commercial banks. But while the funds of the commercial banks are essentially short term, those of the mortgage banks are not so and may, therefore, be appropriately used for granting long term loans, running for several years. Convention or law dictates that commercial banks should maintain certain reserves to their liabilities. In the same way convention or law has dictated that an equilibrium should be maintained between the bonds in circulation and the outstanding loans. Generally the face value of the bonds in circulation should never exceed the total amount of the outstanding loans and in addition to this the extreme limit of bond issues is fixed at a certain number of times the paid-up capital, or the paid up capital *plus* reserves, the total volume of bonds in circulation always bearing a fixed proportion to the latter. In some cases, instead of stipulating for a fixed ratio between outstanding bonds and owned capital, the maximum bond issue is limited to a certain figure. The underlying idea in laying down such provisions is the prevention of excessive issue of bonds and the guarantee of the security of the bond-holder. Mortgage Banks whether agricultural, industrial or urban have almost invariably

* Continued from our last issue.

provided for some limitations to the issue of bonds. A study of a representative list of 22 agricultural mortgage banks in Germany shows that the bonds vary between 17 times the capital and reserves to 7·5 times, the average being 12 times.¹ The recently established Rentenbank Kreditanstalt, already referred to, has limited bond issues to six times the paid-up capital* which may be increased to 8 times by special consent of the Reichsrat. In the case of agricultural mortgage banks generally the ratio has varied from 8 to 25 times the paid-up capital.² In the field of urban and industrial credit, however, the limit is more conservative. The Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland, Ltd., has adopted the limit of 10 times the capital and reserves.³ The Swedish Institute recently devised to furnish middle and long term credits to industry is to have the right of issuing bonds up to 4 times the capital guarantee and the reserve fund to be formed hereafter.⁴ The Industrial Mortgage Bank of Saxony has limited its bond issues to 75 Million R.M.⁵ and the Spanish Banco Credito Industrial to 150 million pesetas.⁶ In the case of institutions issuing bonds or debentures, not necessarily mortgage banking institutions, the general rule is also to adopt some kind of limitation of bond issues. The British Investment Trusts have generally provisions putting some limit to their bond issues. The average of 50 of the leading British Trusts shows bonds to the extent of 39·27% of the total capitalisation or a ratio of total stocks outstanding of two to three.⁷ The American Edge Law permits a company established under its provisions to issue debentures up to 10 times the aggregate capital and surplus of the issuing company.

There are, no doubt, some cases, where the only limitations are those of the bond issues being equal to the mortgages granted. The National Hungarian Farmers Mortgage Institute operates under such a provision. But the additional rule fixing the extreme limit of bond issues is desirable to enhance the security of the bond holder. The recent trend is in favour of putting such a limit as may be observed from the case of the Finnish Industrial Mortgage Bank which had

¹ J. L. Cohen—*The Mortgage Bank*, p. 144.

² M. T. Herrick—*Rural Credits*, p. 221.

³ Letter to the writer from the Managing Director of the Bank, dated 6th November 1934.

⁴ *The Economist*, Banking Supplement, May 12, 1934, p. 14.

⁵ Statutes of the Saxon Mortgage Bank, Sec. 6 (1).

⁶ *The Banker*, June, 1933, p. 169.

⁷ Lawrence M. Speaker—*The Investment Trust*, p. 35.

originally provided simply that bond issues should be limited to mortgages granted but has now restricted the amount of its bond issues to 10 times its capital and reserves.¹

It is abundantly clear from the preceding discussion that some limitation should be placed on the amount of bond issues to be made by our proposed All-India Institute. The bonds should be made to bear some definite proportion to its share capital and reserves. It will tend to promote the security of the bonds and the confidence of the investors. It is surprising to find Mr. Manu Subeder advocating in his Minority Report that any hard and fast proportion of bonds to paid-up share capital need not and should not be laid down. Another wellknown Indian Banker (Sir S. N. Pockhanawalla) also made the point before the Central Banking Enquiry Committee that it was unnecessary to have any limitation on the debenture capital in relation to share capital. All this is contrary to established theory and practice and cannot be accepted.

In suggesting the fixation of a ratio of bonds to share capital in the case of the Indian Institute it should be remembered that the greater the proportion of bonds to capital and reserves, the smaller is the element of safety. Hence where the risk of investment is the greater, the relation of bonds issued to capital and reserves should be lower. Industrial Mortgage Banks cover their loans partly by mobile assets and hence must have the relation of bonds issued to capital lower than purely Land Mortgage Banks which advance against real estate. But at the same time it would not be advisable to fix the ratio at too low a figure, not only because it is not necessary but also because it will hinder the proper functioning of banks for lack of funds. The "Foreign Experts" who assisted the deliberations of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee recommended the ratio of 2:1. Dr. Jeidels in the course of the discussions opined that it might just as well be 3:1, if the capital were not less than one crore. But the ratio under no circumstances should be higher. The Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee was entirely guided by the opinion of Dr. Jeidels in the matter and recommended the adoption of the ratio of 2:1.

The restriction of bonds to share capital as recommended by the experts and the Central Banking Enquiry Committee appears to us to

¹ Sec. 8, Articles of Association (Amended) 1934.

be unnecessarily conservative and severe. We are inclined to think that a higher proportion would not only be sound and adequate but even necessary so that it might not fall short of the reasonable requirements and might not injure the revenue-earning position of the bank by not providing the necessary turn-over on which expenses could be spread out. In the valuable note of dissent of Mr. N. R. Sarker, already referred to, it has been suggested that the limit of 5 times the amount of the share capital may be adopted. This is a fair and reasonable limit and may be accepted. We would only recommend that the reserves should also be taken into account, that is, the bonds should be limited to 5 times the amount of share capital *plus* reserves. The ratio may be increased later on, if necessary, up to 10 times the amount of share capital and reserves but should not go beyond that.

STATE PARTICIPATION OF SHARE CAPITAL AND STATE GUARANTEE OF BONDS

We have proposed that State aid should be furnished to the Indian organisation in the shape of subscription to share capital. In the peculiar conditions of India we are inclined to believe that Government assistance not only in the form of subscription to share capital but also in the form of a guarantee of the bonds of the Central Institute will be necessary. The Indian investing public are proverbially shy and nervous. In order to make the bonds attractive to them and to draw out from them the required capital, it is essential that Government should not only hold some shares but should, at least in the beginning, guarantee the bonds. Even Dr. Jeidels admits that in the beginning the sale will be much easier with Government guarantee. When his attention was sufficiently drawn to the peculiar circumstances in India, he did not strongly object to a temporary guarantee. The guarantee will be necessary to attract investors not only from within the country but also from without it. We have already stressed the necessity for tapping the foreign capital market and the guarantee is sure to inspire confidence in the foreign investors who may not otherwise come forward and open their purse-strings. It is satisfactory to note that the Central Banking Enquiry Committee recommended a guarantee of the interest on the bonds and further laid down that the guarantee should be limited to the first issue of

bonds or to a certain period of currency of the bond issue. It may, however, be urged that such limited guarantee has some drawbacks, for the difficulty may arise that the public may be unwilling to take up subsequent issues when made without any guarantee at all. But it is expected that after a few years, when the public will correctly appreciate the nature of the organisation and be familiar with its working, the stimulus of a Government guarantee will not be required to induce them to invest. The same thing has happened in Japan and elsewhere.

In recommending this State participation of share capital and State guarantee of the bonds, we have been chiefly guided by the fact that State aid has been a predominant feature in almost all instances where specialist institutions have been started either for the financing of agriculture or industry. There are numerous instances where the State has contributed wholly or partly the capital of agricultural mortgage banks or guaranteed their bonds. Even in England the Agricultural Mortgage Corporation received a Government subsidy and its debentures were guaranteed by the British Government. It is the same story with the recently started Industrial Mortgage Banks in Europe. The entire capital of the Saxon Mortgage Bank and 80% of the capital of the Hungarian Institution have been contributed by the respective Governments while the bonds of the Finnish and the Saxon Bank and the "bank debentures" of the Polish National Economic Bank placed on foreign markets enjoy a Government guarantee. The debentures of the Japanese Industrial Bank issued abroad were also guaranteed by the Government in several instances. In the case of the recently floated Industrial Credit Company of Ireland, it was provided that the Irish Government would take up all shares left unsubscribed by the public.

BUSINESS OF THE INDUSTRIAL MORTGAGE BANK OF INDIA

As we have already suggested, the All-India Institute will confine itself to the issue of mortgage bonds and will not furnish loans direct to the industrial concerns. The main business of the provincial institutes will be the provision of long term amortisation loans to industries—joint-stock, co-operative and in some instances even private. The loans, as is usual with the post-War industrial mortgage banks in Europe, are to be furnished on first mortgages of industrial real estate,

land, factory buildings, hydro-electric installations, machinery, plant, etc. Certain types of property have been regarded as undesirable security for mortgage loans, and mortgage banks, in many cases, have been specifically prohibited from lending against such security. Theatres, mines, and quarries belong to this category and have been excluded from the business of several mortgage banks, for example, the French Credit Foncier,¹ the Polish National Economic Bank² and the National Mortgage Bank of Argentine. Such properties are incapable of returning money in a regular manner and do not constitute a proper basis for the issue of bonds. It will be unsound for an Institution of the type we are contemplating to grant loans against such security. Mortgages of ships as basis for the issue of bonds will be extremely insecure owing to changes and rapid decrease in value and the material difficulty in enforcing claims. Although ship mortgage business was a favourite line with the Industrial Bank of Japan and ship mortgage banks have recently been established in several European countries, we would like to debar our Industrial Mortgage Bank from engaging in such business.

The proportion which the amount of the loan will bear to the approved value of the industrial property offered for mortgage will have to be carefully determined. The law relating to mortgage banks in every country has, generally speaking, laid down that the amount of the loan to be granted should never exceed a certain fixed percentage of the estimated value of mortgaged properties. In the case of agricultural mortgage banks the percentage is very liberal and has varied from 40 to even 75%.³ In the case of the European industrial mortgage banks, the percentage is distinctly lower and more conservative, and has not exceeded 50% and in some cases is even 30%. In fixing the percentage in the case of the Indian set-up, the practice prevalent in other countries should serve as the guiding star. It should be stressed that the agricultural mortgage banks make their loans entirely on real estate, while industrial mortgage banks lend partly on mobile assets, at least on assets not so immobile as in the other case. The question of the relative security or insecurity of

¹ Herrick—Rural Credits, p. 120.

² See the writer's article "The National Economic Bank of Poland"—*The Calcutta Review*, September, 1934.

³ The National Mortgage Bank of Greece, the Royal Swedish Mortgage Bank, the Land Mortgage Bank of Warsaw, the Hungarian Land Mortgage Bank and the Agricultural Mortgage Bank of Columbia have the limit fixed at 50%. In Italy and Belgium the limit is 66½% and in the Netherland Institutions it is 75%.

industrial mortgage banks will engage our attention later on. But at the present moment their assets being more mobile, these may be considered to be subject to relatively more rapid depreciation and there should be a higher margin of safety here than in the case of agricultural mortgage institutes. The latter may with comparative safety lend up to 60% or even 75% of the estimated value of the mortgaged land, but such a policy will not probably be wise for the industrial mortgage banks.

The amount of the loan should be restricted to a more conservative proportion of the appraised value of the industrial property offered as security. But at the same time it must be considered that if the percentage fixed is too low, it will spell great inconvenience to the borrower who will find it difficult to satisfy his requirement, and it will thus defeat the very purpose for which the Bank has been started. We are inclined to believe that consistent with safety to itself and convenience to the borrower, the amount of the loan made by the Indian Institute should not exceed 50% of the value of the land, 40% of the buildings, and 30% of the plant and machinery. If water power forms a portion of industrial property, loans may be made up to 30% of its estimated value as in the case of the National Economic Bank of Poland. To increase the security, mortgage of additional properties may be demanded in any case. Such practice is not unknown with the industrial mortgage banks of Europe.

PURPOSE OF THE MORTGAGE LOANS

The loans granted by the Provincial Mortgage Institutes should be for extension, modernisation and replacement of plant and machinery. They should play an important part in the rationalisation of industry. Reorganisation is urgently called for in a large number of Indian industries and our set-up should earnestly devote itself to the financing of the reorganisation schemes. The Japanese Industrial Bank has filled an important rôle in the rationalisation of Japanese industries in recent years.¹ Although the Indian Central Institute will not lend direct to the industrial concerns, it will exercise a general supervision over the loan operations of the Provincial institutes, and whenever

¹ Fifty-sixth Report of the Industrial Bank of Japan for the half-year ending December 31, 1929.

rationalisation is called for. it should see that primary attention is given to the financing of schemes of rationalisation.

As regards the provision of initial finance to industry, in all discussions relating to the establishment of a specialist Institution for financing industries in India, it has been urged that the Institution should have statutory power not only to furnish long term loans but also to take up and underwrite industrial shares and debentures. The majority of the witnesses who appeared before the Central Banking Enquiry Committee suggested that the future Industrial Bank of India should provide a part at least of the initial block capital of industries. The Majority Report preferred not to discuss in detail the specific business to be undertaken by the Industrial Corporations recommended therein. Mr. Manu Subedar in his Minority Report advocated that his All-India Bank should take up preferential capital of new concerns up to one-third of the amount subscribed by the public as well as debentures. Mr. N. R. Sarker in his minute of dissent also laid down that one of the most important functions of the Indian Institute should consist in underwriting and subscribing shares of industrial companies.

In all these schemes the issue and underwriting business has been combined with that of making long term loans. The example of the Japanese Industrial Bank and its forerunner the French Credit Mobilier must have exercised a great deal of influence. But if the Institute, as we have contemplated it, is to furnish long term mortgage loans, it will not be desirable to mix it up with issue or underwriting business. Nowhere, to our knowledge, has a mortgage bank done so. We have made a careful enquiry into the working of the recently established Industrial Mortgage Banks of Europe and we have been informed by their authorities that they do not make it their business to provide initial capital to industrial concerns by subscribing to their shares. The National Economic Bank of Poland, which is, however, an omnibus institution dealing in all kinds of mortgage and other credits used to provide initial block capital to joint-stock companies in this manner. But by an order of the President of the Republic, dated the 3rd December, 1930, Act 11 of its Charter which gave it the right of industrial participation was cancelled.¹ The Industrial Bank of Japan does indeed combine investment trust

¹ Report of the Board of Directors, N. E. B., for the year 1930 (Warsaw, 1931), p. 46.

business with that of industrial mortgage but we have already stressed the undesirability of such practice and have indicated it as one of the main reasons for rejecting the Japanese model for India.

It may, however, be argued that if the proposed Indian organisation does not furnish initial block capital, it will but touch only a fringe of the problem. But it may be suggested that when the industrial company has raised a certain portion, say 50%, of its share capital, it may invest it in land, buildings or machinery which in turn may be offered as the basis of a loan from the industrial mortgage bank. The subscription or underwriting of industrial shares should never be the business of a mortgage bank.

DURATION OF INDUSTRIAL MORTGAGE LOANS

The loans granted by the Provincial Institutes should be long and medium term. In the case of agricultural mortgage banks, a real estate loan runs from 10 to even 75 years. Evidently industrial mortgage loans cannot run for 50 or 60 years. Industrial property, as already pointed out, is subject to more rapid changes in value, and plant and machinery depreciate quickly. In the circumstances, the industrial mortgage banks have nowhere adopted the practice of their *confrères*, the agricultural institutes. The Banco Credito Industrial of Spain appears to be the only institution dealing in long term loans to industry which advanced for 50 years.¹ But this is not at all a sound practice for an institution of such type. While on the one hand the period for which the loans will be granted should not be fixed so long, on the other hand, it should not also be too short to be termed reasonably long term. The mortgage loans of the Japanese Industrial Bank to industry in general do not run for periods of more than five years. Dr. J. C. Sinha, following the Japanese Bank, suggested in a recent article that the long term loans of the future Indian Institution should not be for a longer period than five years.² But five-year loans can never be considered to be reasonably long term and if the proposed Indian Institution were confined to the granting of such loans, the problem of long term industrial finance will never be solved in India and the whole set-up will be of little practical value. Mr. Manu Subedar suggested a period of 10 years but even

¹ *The Banker*, June, 1933, p. 169.

² *The Modern Review*, January, 1932, p. 56.

this is not long enough. The practice with all specialist institutions designed in recent years for long term financing of industry has invariably been to grant loans for periods much longer than five or even ten years. Twenty or twenty-five years have been the usual period for long term mortgage loans to industry, as may be observed from the instances of the Finnish and the Hungarian Industrial Mortgage Institute. In the case of the Polish National Economic Bank the maximum period of redemption of industrial loans was originally fixed at 18½ years but it was extended to 20 years by a law of 20th December, 1932. The "Credit for Industry" which has recently been established in England for financing small and medium size industries is granting loans for periods ranging from two to twenty years.¹ The long term industrial loans of the proposed Swedish Institute will be for over 10 years and the medium term ones will run from 1 to 10 years.²

Our Provincial Institutions, under the circumstances, may very well advance for periods of at least 15 years and even 20 years. The 20-year period should not be exceeded. Industrial property—plant and machinery—depreciate pretty rapidly and a longer period may wipe away a considerable portion of the value of the security offered. The middle term credit may run from 2 to 10 years.

The long term advances of the institutes should have provision for amortisation. In the schemes that have hitherto been formulated for an Indian Industrial Bank, there does not appear to be one which provides for amortisation. The system of amortisation is extremely needful and beneficial to all borrowers of long periods. It eases their burden and enables them to pay off the loan gradually by the slow returns of business. It has been aptly observed: "Without it every real estate credit system is an incomplete and fragile scaffold, deceiving the public and endangering the welfare of any nation."³

There are two principal methods by which an amortisable loan may be extinguished, those of the German *Landschafts* and the French *Credit Foncier*. Under the latter system, the annuity determined by the length of the credit and the agreed rate of interest remains the same during the entire period of the loan and is usually paid in semi-annual instalments. This is the system that has generally been adopted by the industrial mortgage banks, and in the case of

¹ *The Times*, Trade and Engineering Supplement, Banking Section, June 30, 1934, p. 8.

² *The Economist*, Banking Supplement, May 12, 1934, p. 14.

³ Royer, quoted by Herrick—*Rural Credits*, p. 22.

India, the loans granted by the Provincial Institute may also be made repayable in annuities in semi-annual instalments. These annuities will be made up of interest, amortisation and cost of administration. An additional payment may also be demanded in the form of risk amounting to, say, $\frac{1}{4}\%$, as in the case of the Provincial Mortgage Bank of Saxony.

DEPOSITS AND SHORT TERM LOANS

Mortgage banks as a rule are prohibited from encroaching on the territory of commercial banks. On the one hand, they cannot receive deposits and on the other they must not grant credits except on mortgage. The question of receiving deposits and of the provision of short term funds for industry has been frequently raised in connection with the functions of the proposed Indian Institute and also came up before the Central Banking Enquiry Committee. A prominent Indian Banker told the Central Banking Enquiry Committee that the Industrial Corporation might receive deposits for periods of not less than three years. The Committee itself also favoured the idea of taking long term deposits by the Provincial Industrial Corporations, proposed by them.

But we are inclined to believe that it will not be a legitimate function of industrial mortgage banks to invite and accept deposits whether long or short term. It would not only be a competition with existing joint-stock banks but it would also be outside its proper sphere. The cases where mortgage institutes have been permitted to receive deposits are very few and even there the amount has been limited. The Industrial Mortgage Banks of Europe, so we have been informed by their authorities, do not receive any deposits at all.¹

As regards the question of granting short term loans, there are two aspects from which it may be viewed. First, mortgage institutes have frequently funds not required for immediate investment. These funds, it is suggested, may be permitted to be utilized for short term loans. And secondly, industrial enterprises which have mortgaged their real estate to them are likely to find it difficult to raise their working capital from the ordinary channels. In the circumstances,

¹ Letter to the writer from the Managing Director of the Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland, dated the 6th November, 1934.

it may perhaps be necessary for the industrial mortgage bank to furnish working capital to industry.

It is undoubtedly desirable that the two functions of making long and short term loans should be segregated and vested in entirely different institutions. In a few cases mortgage banks have no doubt been known to cultivate the business of short term loans with some restrictions. The two striking examples in this respect are the Municipal Mortgage Bank of Finland and the Credit Foncier of France. But generally speaking neither the agricultural mortgage institutes nor the recently established industrial mortgage banks in Europe make it their business to advance short term funds or working capital. The Managing Director of the Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland informs us that the institution does not engage in ordinary banking business nor does it furnish working capital to industry.

The free funds of the mortgage institute are sometimes permitted to be invested temporarily in certain listed bills and securities or utilized in purchasing their own bonds and even making loans on certain specified securities. The Industrial Mortgage Institute of Hungary is a case in point.¹ While we cannot advocate with Mr. Manu Subedar that the Industrial Bank of India will advance short term loans to industry, we would suggest that the free funds of the Institute should be invested temporarily in the same way as those of the Hungarian Bank. The working capital of industry should be obtained partly from paid up share capital and partly from the commercial banks. As regards the question that industrial concerns which have mortgaged their real assets to the mortgage institute may find it difficult to raise their working capital from the ordinary banks, it may be interesting to point out that no such difficulty has been experienced by the Finnish industries which have offered their fixed assets as security to the Finnish Mortgage Bank.

RESTRICTIONS ON THE BUSINESS OF THE MORTGAGE INSTITUTE

What would be the field of operation of the proposed Indian Institute? Will its sphere be limited to non-competitive lines of industry? Will it avoid small industries? These are questions which should now engage our attention.

¹ Articles of Association, para. 51. See the writer's article "The National Hungarian Industrial Mortgage Institute"—*The Calcutta Review*, July, 1934.

Dr. Jeidels and the other "foreign experts" following him were definitely of the opinion that the business of the Indian Industrial Corporation should be restricted to non-competitive lines of industry. An Industrial Corporation, financially assisted by Government, writes Dr. Jeidels in his memorandum, must not enter competitive fields of industry but should be restricted to "the field of pioneer enterprise of non-competitive character, the opening up of mineral resources and large public utilities, principally electrical power schemes."¹ It should be restricted to such fields not only because they are non-competitive or almost so but also because "in order to establish the reputation of such industrial corporation, one ought to start with something assured of success, avoiding the risk which naturally lies in such ventures as glass, pottery, electric goods and chemicals, etc."² In discussing Mr. N. R. Sarker's note, Dr. Jeidels and the other experts made it quite plain that they viewed with alarm any suggestion that the Industrial Bank would extend its operations to a large variety of industries.³

The position taken by the foreign experts is quite untenable. It was also rejected by the Central Banking Enquiry Committee. The Industrial Mortgage Banks, after the pattern of which we have suggested that the Indian Bank should be set up, have in every case been endowed with some form of State aid, including State participation of share capital. But nowhere has any attempt been made to restrict by statute the operations of such banks to the class of business as recommended by the "Experts." A perusal of their annual reports makes it abundantly clear that they finance every kind and every branch of industry. Iron and metal, chemical, woollen, cotton silk, printing and publishing, paper, foodstuff, china, toy and brick industries are some of the most important to be assisted by the Hungarian Institute.⁴ The Saxon, the Finnish and even the Polish institutions have similarly financed a wide variety of industries. No limit has also been imposed on the character of the business to be engaged in by the more recent specialist institutions which have been or will soon be established under the auspices of the State, such as the Industrial Credit Co. of Ireland and the Swedish Institute for

¹ Report of the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee, Vol. I, Part I, p. 639.

² Discussions with Foreign Experts—Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee, Vol. IV, p. 231, p. 237.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 341-42.

⁴ Report of the National Hungarian Industrial Mortgage Institute, 1921.

industrial finance. In Italy, although State-aided institutions have been started for granting long and middle term credits to public works and public utility undertakings, the Istituto Mobiliare Italiano was also created in 1931 to be entrusted with the financing of industrial concerns generally.¹

Any attempt to restrict the programme of the future Industrial Mortgage Bank of India to public utility companies and non-competitive lines of industry will not only defeat the very purpose for which it has been created but will also be fraught with disastrous consequences in that proper diversification of risks will not be achieved.

As regards the question of assistance to small industries, the opinion of the foreign experts was definitely against it. But we are inclined to think that our mortgage institute should cater for the long term needs of all kinds of organised industries, large, medium and small. Such a policy will undoubtedly secure diversification not only according to the nature of the industry but also according to its size. The practice of the Saxon and Hungarian Institutes tends to support our view in this respect. The Industrial Bank of Japan has not also confined its assistance to large industries, as the foreign experts erroneously believed, but has liberally assisted small and medium sized industries as well in post-War years.² There will be many practical difficulties in working a separate institution in India for financing small enterprise in addition to the set-up contemplated by us. The contention that the interests of the smaller enterprises will be neglected by an institution of the type recommended may be disposed of by suggesting that the directors of the Provincial Institutes should include representatives of smaller industries who will look to their particular interests. The directors might be of two types, Class A and Class B, the latter to include the representatives of the smaller industries.

APPRAISAL

Accurate appraisal is a very important problem with mortgage banks. Everything depends on the proper valuation of the property offered for mortgage and the margin of safety allowed, since this constitutes the security not only of the bond-holder but also of the

¹ *The Statist*, July 16, 1933, p. 91, and Oct. 21, 1933, p. 548.

² Herbert Bratter—*Japanese Banking*, p. 181. Also Sixtieth Report of the Industrial Bank of Japan for the half-year ending December 31, 1931.

bank itself. The bank must be very strict in the examination of the industrial property to be mortgaged. Different kinds of industrial property have to be valued in different ways, and separate appraisers may have to be employed for that purpose. Thus the Finnish Institution has employed different " assessors " for valuing buildings and machinery, for landed and forest property and for water power. The appraisers should not only concentrate their attention on present market values but should also take a broad view of the general prospects of the industry in future.

The All-India Bank would require some machinery for examining the mortgages offered but this need not be elaborate. It will rely to a great extent upon the judgment of the borrowing banks which give their additional pledge. It is the Provincial Institutes which have to employ a well-equipped staff of experts, statisticians, businessmen, lawyers, engineers, accountants and economists. The Directorate may be so selected as to include some experts. The staff of experts will sift out the desirable proposals from among the many applications for loans, will assess properly the various forms of industrial property offered as mortgage and will also make full enquiries concerning " finance, production, sales and market capacity and personnel " of the business applying for loans. Industrial concerns having a fairly satisfactory trading record over a period of years, in a sound financial position and well managed at the time of application should be primarily assisted. Every facility should be given to those that have already succeeded in building up business to a certain point so that further progress may be made possible. Special attention is to be given to the financing of rationalisation schemes. The financing of newly established concerns should not be too strictly prohibited. A new industry should not be viewed with instinctive suspicion and turned down at once. Every proposition should be judged on its own merits.

SPECIAL PRIVILEGES AND SAFEGUARDS

The Bank is to be surrounded with special privileges and safeguards as is usual with mortgage institutes, whether agricultural or industrial. The rights of such institutes have to be very carefully protected in the interest of the bond-holders. The bonds which are the main source out of which they derive their necessary funds have

to be popularised among the investing public and extraordinary facilities have, therefore, to be accorded to the banks to collect their dues. The process allowed for realizing arrears of interest and annuity has to be particularly quick and effective. In all cases they have been endowed with the right to take drastic proceedings against a delinquent borrower.* On appeal the Courts must also give their decision swiftly and summarily, the records of the mortgage bank constituting indisputable evidence. The Bank has frequently the right to be appointed "sequestri curator" of the mortgaged properties.¹ The claims of the Bank take precedence over all other claims. No third party can acquire any claim over the properties and assets mortgaged by the borrowing concern. The Indian Institute should be endowed with similar rights and safeguards so that it may function well. In every case the buildings, machines, tools, implements, etc., which have been offered for mortgage must be insured against damage by fire, earthquake or any other casualty with an insurance company approved of by the lending Provincial Bank. Audit and revaluation of assets must be permitted at any time. As regards the right of the borrower to repay his loan before the appointed time, he may be permitted to do it but a stipulation should be made that a notice of repayment should be given and a redemption fee should be paid as is demanded by the English Agricultural Mortgage Corporation. It must be remembered that the Bank will have its own liability for its bond issues, and having regard to that it should not allow non-contractual payment to be readily made but it should fix a redemption fee sufficient to be commensurate with the cost of the funds it employs.

CENTRAL REGISTER OF INDUSTRIAL MORTGAGES

The framing of a Central Register of Industrial Mortgages as is to be found in Hungary is a condition precedent to the establishment of an Industrial Mortgage Bank for India. Without such a register, it will not be possible for the Bank to know immediately whether it is advancing actually against a first mortgage. The existence of prior mortgages, if not known, will detract from the value of the property and thus injure the interests of the Bank. It is essential for the

¹ See the writer's article "The National Hungarian Industrial Mortgage Institute." —*The Calcutta Review*, July, 1934.

development of a proper system of mortgage credit that safeguards should be introduced against the mortgaging of the same piece of property several times without disclosing the fact of any prior mortgage to later lenders. A great check to such abuses in the sphere of agricultural mortgage credit is furnished by the "Grundbuch" of Germany. It is a real estate register, registering the property relationship and the debt burden of every piece of land. It is open for inspection to all interested parties and embodies the principle of priority over all other rights entered subsequently. Following Germany, most Central European countries have developed a complete machinery for registering mortgages in a Grundbuch. A Central Register of Industrial Mortgages, embodying all the details of ownership, rights of third parties, etc., is likely to be much more advantageous than the "purge" method of the "Credit Foncier" of France. According to this method, advertisements are made in papers inviting objections from possible creditors to a proposed loan on the mortgage of real estate. It is no doubt speedy and safe and at the same time dispenses with the necessity of fresh legislation. But it exposes intending borrowers to a blaze of unwelcome publicity and is not, therefore, likely to be relished by them. The experience in India under the State Aid to Industries Acts when objections to applications of loans have similarly been invited by advertisement in newspapers and Government Gazettes has not at all been happy and does not warrant a repetition of the same system in the Mortgage Bank. All these considerations have impressed us in favour of instituting a Central Register in every province.

RELATIVE INSECURITY OF INDUSTRIAL MORTGAGE BANKS

The extension of the principles of mortgage banking to the field of industrial credit has not been favourably received in some quarters ; and the establishment of industrial mortgage banks which will grant long term loans on mortgage of industrial real property, machinery, plant, factory buildings, etc., has been viewed with considerable misgivings. Agricultural land is as good as permanent and seldom undergoes depreciation so quickly and so considerably as to wipe out the security. Industrial property is, however, subject to more rapid depreciation than agricultural real estate. Owing to changes in value and rapid depreciation, industrial plant and machinery which are used as bases for the issue of industrial mortgage bonds have been considered very

insecure. But it must be pointed out that agricultural property is subject to fluctuations and trade cycles and depressions even much more than industrial property. In recent years the magnitude of fluctuations in agricultural rent and prices has been indeed enormous. The phenomenal rise during the Great War was quickly followed after 1920 by a catastrophic fall in the whole world of agriculture. An interesting feature of the recent world-wide economic crisis was that the fall of agricultural prices was relatively greater than that of manufactured goods. Agricultural property in the recent depression has undergone depreciation of value much more serious than industrial. The collapse of agricultural prices has been so severe that there is a striking tendency among several banks primarily designed for furnishing agricultural mortgage credit to invest increasingly in urban real estate. An outstanding example is that of the French "Credit Foncier."

An industrial mortgage bank has one single advantage of considerable importance over agricultural and other mortgage banks in that it can distribute its risks of investment much better amongst widely different types of undertakings. Every kind and every size of industrial enterprise may be represented in its investments. Again, in the case of the Industrial Mortgage Institutes the duration of the loan and the period of amortisation are sufficiently shorter than the same with agricultural banks. The percentage of the estimated value of the property up to which a loan can be advanced is also fixed on a more conservative basis. Taking all these things into consideration, we are inclined to think that an Industrial Mortgage Bank is not less secure than an agricultural mortgage institution. The recent experiment with industrial mortgage banking that has been made in Saxony, Finland and Hungary has been attended with considerable success and clearly demonstrates that such a type of institution is not only safe but is also a financial mechanism of considerable utility. Losses on mortgage loans made by the banks in every case have been either *nil* or insignificant, while the borrowing industrial enterprises have been highly benefited.¹

There is a permanent need of this type of loan. Even in Europe, where the capital market is highly organized and capital is neither shy nor unavailable, industries of a certain size or of a certain type, though perfectly sound, have met with great difficulties in obtaining their

¹ See the writer's article "Industrial Mortgage Banks"—*The Calcutta Review*, June, July and September, 1934.

necessary long term finances. In much poorer countries as India, where capital is proverbially shy and the market for it is unorganized or non-existent, industrial undertakings have to face yet greater difficulties in securing their capital and in a great many cases have to be kept back for want of it. Industrial mortgage banks are designed to satisfy this need which is always present in our economic society.

The establishment of a Specialist Institution for financing industries in India has been resisted by non-Indian opinion on the alleged ground that attempts at specialised industrial banking were made in the past and the experiment had definitely failed. A large number of institutions sprang up, no doubt, during the post-War years in every part of India, styling themselves as "Industrial Banks." But curiously enough, although they called themselves such, none of them had any claim to that title. Truly speaking, they were neither "industrial" nor even banks. No attempt was ever made in the past to establish or work an institution in India for financing industries, which was well equipped, well managed and conceived on truly scientific lines. Even the Tata Industrial Bank which attracted considerable attention and was even taken as a model by the Industrial Commission was conducted on lines which clearly showed complete ignorance or lack of an understanding of the basic principles of industrial financing. It is not surprising that it had to come to grief and give up its industrial business within a few years of its establishment. The Organisation that we have in mind has no resemblance to these so-called "industrial banks" of the past and we consider it to be not only theoretically sound but also of considerable practical utility.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF DEMOCRACY

DHARAM BIR VOHRA (B.SC., HONS.)

ORTHODOX democracy has proved itself miserably unequal to the exigencies of modern government. The doctrines of the nineteenth century liberals, dearly cherished by progressive individuals all the world over, have brought chaos rather than progress to civilized nations. Everywhere, the principle of *laissez-faire* stands discredited and the old war cry of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" leaves men cold. Everywhere democratic forms of government, once hailed as the greatest political advance in human affairs, are suspect.

The inefficiency of democracy first became noticeable in its economic aspect. One of the fundamental dogmas of the liberal school was that individuals should be left free to handle their property according to their private wishes. This principle was productive of undeniably good results during the greater part of last century when industry was in its early stages of development. The population in all countries was then largely settled upon the land and was little affected by the rising tide of industrialism. Capitalists could turn their wealth to any purpose without causing the least hardship to the common people. The only class to suffer were the labourers, but their misery was more than counterbalanced by the general prosperity which pervaded the industrial world.

By the end of the nineteenth century, however, capitalism had developed to such an extent as to vitally influence large masses of people. At the same time, the popularization of democracy enabled these masses to become articulate and to demand that industry shall not override their interests. Thus, the capitalists were bound, sooner or later, to govern their actions not solely by the motive of private profit but by a consideration of the common good. In other words, democracy was coming into conflict with one of its own children—the principle of *laissez-faire*.

How this conflict would have shaped itself if war had not intervened will never be known. The war, however, brought about a widespread abandonment of the *laissez-faire* theory. The dislocation in trade resultant upon the war necessitated the development of various

essential industries in all the belligerent countries, irrespective of the suitability or otherwise of local conditions. Clearly this overlapping required to be eliminated if the pre-war cosmopolitan economy was to be restored. But such elimination would have entailed much travail in the countries concerned and was, therefore, not carried into effect. On the other hand, the States themselves undertook to control and direct those portions of the capitalist system which happened to fall within their boundaries. This procedure was facilitated by the fact that all the nations had had to submit to wholesale commandeering during the war years ; so that the transference of the capitalist system from private to national hands was accepted as a matter of course.

Only in Britain, France, and the United States was an effort made to carry on with *laissez-faire* capitalism. Between 1922 and 1928, in fact, the pre-war economic cosmopolitanism was more or less restored in the financial sphere. But the peoples who had been struck the hardest by the war refused to accept this financial leadership, because they feared a repetition of the chaos and destruction which had overtaken the world in 1914. This fear was clearly expressed in their votes after the war, parties professing uncompromising nationalism, both in politics and in industry, receiving the greatest support. In the face of such a mood on the part of Europe's millions, Britain and France could scarcely hope to achieve a reconstruction of the pre-war cosmopolitanism ; and their signal failure in the effort sounded the death-knell of *laissez faire*.

However, the war has nothing essential to do with the abandonment of the *laissez-faire* theory. For, as we have already observed, *laissez-faire* was beginning to come into conflict with political democracy even before the nineteenth century had ended. So long as people were not directly affected by private capitalism, they had no objection to it. But with the growth of industrialism a time was bound to come when the capitalists would find the " general will " running contrary to their own desires ; for private interest and the common good are, at least to a partial extent, mutually exclusive terms. Thus *laissez-faire* would undoubtedly have become irksome to the people and they would ultimately have found means to do away with it. All that the war did was to expedite this consummation.

Thus one of the most cherished principles of nineteenth century democracy has failed to survive the age in which it first received

definite expression. It held good, or at least was thought to hold good, for conditions of elementary industrialism ; but is utterly untenable in a regime of advanced technology. For the more powerful machinery becomes, the more vitally and extensively does it influence the human race at large, and the more clearly are the defects of the system under which it is run brought out. *Laissez-faire*, in fact, was a fallacious theory ever since it was propounded ; but it required a good deal of industrial advancement to make the fallacy sufficiently obvious to the common man.

That a realization of the obnoxiousness of *laissez-faire* capitalism is not confined to the non-democratic peoples is demonstrated by the increasing restrictions which are being applied to large-scale industries in Britain, France and the United States. The slump of 1929 brought home even to the most stubborn protagonists of nineteenth century liberalism the terrible dangers arising from unregulated industrialism. For whatever the ultimate cause of Trade Cycles may be, it is certain that the irrational alternations of over-confidence and under-confidence in industrial prospects have a good deal to do with that cause. And it is precisely such alternations that *laissez-faire* generates, thereby involving millions and millions of human beings in dark misery. The stupendous unemployment that followed the slump naturally shook the faith of men in democratic institutions, and discontent ran high. In Germany, indeed, actual revolution took place, and democracy was completely repudiated. Even in Britain and France, notable changes were carried into effect : Government took an active part in trying to adjust the economic machinery with a view to mitigating the severities of the slump. America was the last to interfere with industry, but the delay was more than made up by the rigour of the control applied. In all these countries, which had so far professed an unqualified belief in *laissez-faire*, capitalists found their movements increasingly regulated and restricted by the State.

We have so far been considering democracy only in its economic aspect. Turning now to its political aspect, we are confronted with an equally dejecting state of affairs. An uneducated and ignorant electorate continually comes in the way of a correct solution of urgent questions and prevents decisions being taken at the opportune moment. Political parties which seriously aim at guiding the country along rational lines can rarely enlist the support of the masses, which are more influenced by an appeal to emotion than by a call to reason.

Consequently those who succeed in getting elected are usually unscrupulous demagogues with no ability to cope with the problems that confront them—problems which demand not merely dispassionate thought but a deep knowledge of economics and politics. Even when a candidate for election possesses real ability in addition to demagogic talents, he cannot hope to do much useful work after election. For his suggestions and proposals, however commendable intrinsically, are only too likely to be swept aside by the ignorant emotionality of the other members. M. Alderton Pink relates how mass sentiment in France and the United States resulted in the indefinite postponement of the Lausanne Conference proposed for a consideration of the Reparations problem in 1932; the ministers of the two countries, indeed, were fully aware of the urgency of the matter but public opinion—as usual entirely uninformed—deterred them from collaborating with the other Powers which were to be represented at the Conference. When at last the Conference was held, ignorant electorates again paralysed their representatives and effectively prevented the evolution of any satisfactory agreement.

Political democracy also renders the taking of rapid decisions impossible. Every new situation in national or international affairs has to be submitted to the judgment of Parliament, and by the time a decision is reached, circumstances may have changed so much as to make it inapplicable. The quality of the decision is, of course, a separate matter. On occasions calling for rapid action, therefore, dilatory Parliamentary procedure has invariably been abandoned. The latest example is furnished by the present French Government, which, in view of a critical foreign situation, has vested extraordinary powers in the Premier, M. Daladier. The British Government, also, has often had to act lately without consulting Parliament, despite the persistent protests of Mr. Attlee and his group.

Thus, in the political field also, orthodox democracy has manifested its unsuitability for modern conditions; it has failed utterly to deal with the problems and exigencies of a world which is becoming increasingly complex.

There has arisen, therefore, a widespread apathy and even hostility towards democratic institutions. The man in the street is distrustful of democracy because it cannot give him economic security; the intellectual person has lost faith in democracy because of its general inefficiency, both in the economic and in the political

fields. Thus all classes are turning to the newer and more vital doctrines which have acquired a challenging importance during the course of a mere generation. Everywhere, men are transferring their allegiance from Parliamentary democracy to Fascism or Communism. Democracy has ceased to command any respect, even from the peoples among whom it still exists.

If this situation continues for any considerable period, democracy is bound to be exterminated by the newer creeds. The ideals of liberty which inspired men a century ago will find no support and authoritarianism will become the rule. Small cliques will acquire power in all countries and, by ruthless regimentation and propaganda, keep entire millions in abject subjugation. Irresponsible autocrats will, through systematic indoctrination, subordinate to their purposes countless multitudes made submissive by bio-chemical manipulation. In the face of such a terrible prospect, it clearly becomes the duty of those who believe in liberty to revive the faith of 'democratic' peoples in liberal institutions and to keep them from joining the ranks of the reactionaries.

It is obvious, however, that it would not do to ask the people to accept the traditional institutions of democracy; for they have become fully convinced of the inefficacy of these institutions. The problem is to modify these institutions to suit existing conditions and then to demonstrate their intrinsic worth. But if we are to do this, we must be prepared drastically to revise the old conceptions of liberalism; we must remember that these conceptions were meant to apply primarily to the conditions of the nineteenth century and had nothing infallible about them. Democracy is essentially a philosophy of liberty, and the preservation of liberty should be our guiding motive in any reconstruction of democracy. But we must be careful to distinguish between genuine liberty and merely superficial liberty; allowing ourselves to be bound by the former but ruthlessly discarding the latter.

Keeping this qualification in view, let us see how democracy is to be enabled to regain the popular confidence and enthusiasm. We have already noticed that in the political sphere, the main defects of democracy are inefficient government and incapable governors. How can we raise the quality of government without prejudicing the cause of liberty? In general, democratic government is based upon three institutions—the electorate, the Parliament, and the Cabinet, and all

three contribute to the efficiency of the ultimate process of government. On the electorate devolves the all-important task of selecting the country's representatives—representatives from amongst whom the Ministry is selected. The nineteenth century liberals believed that the more extensive the franchise, the more effectively would public opinion be reflected in the Parliament. This belief was obviously based on the idea that all individuals took an active interest in large-scale politics and further that the political opinions of these individuals were evolved from personal reactions to the political atmosphere. The first premise is profoundly fallacious, while the second may be allowed some validity for the conditions of the nineteenth century. In our age, however, politics have become so utterly complex that the ordinary person, whose knowledge is severely circumscribed, cannot possibly form any rational opinion on the vast majority of questions with which he is called upon to deal. Moreover, the tremendously enhanced power of propaganda which influential individuals and parties have come to possess results in common people thoughtlessly echoing the opinions of these interested parties. Electoral contests, therefore, are decided not by the so-called general will but by the relative efficacy of party slogans. The liberty which people possess of recording their individual opinions through votes is largely nominal; it is one of the trappings of democracy and should be looked upon accordingly. The system of voting should be so modified as to confer real liberty upon the electorate. To this end, it is necessary to recognize the fact that the majority of people are not fitted by nature to interest themselves in national politics. To enfranchise such people merely encourages corrupt exploitation of the electorate by unscrupulous parties. Instead of continually widening the franchise, therefore, democracies should take steps to exclude the apathetic masses from the vote: a result which can be very effectively achieved by making it necessary for the vote to be applied for and by making the method of application so troublesome as to deter the uninterested. This would do a great deal to rationalize party propaganda. But to ensure the satisfactory discontinuance of cheap demagoguery, it would be necessary to go a step further and limit the franchise to those who possessed a certain degree of education. Finally to prevent incapable persons from finding a place in Parliament, a sufficiently deep knowledge of economics and politics should be required of all candidates seeking election to the national

legislature. If this triple reform is carried out in present-day democracies, an unprecedented increase in governmental efficiency will be observed; though, of course, without reacting on liberty, for the electorate would be in a better position to consider the alternative political programmes and decide between them according to their judgment. To ensure a reasonable measure of liberty of judgment, however, a severe curtailment of propaganda would have to be effected. So long as the newspaper and the radio can mould public opinion according to their private choice, the liberty of the electorate is bound to remain purely illusive. True democracy demands that unscrupulous propaganda be ruthlessly suppressed.

Coming now to the sphere of actual administration, we have to remember that democracies find themselves in difficulty when dealing with political urgencies or with economic problems. In the first case, the cumbrous process of parliamentary discussion comes in the way of a rapid and effective decision. Ministers can take hardly any step without first securing the assent of Parliament and cannot follow a bold, consistent policy. If they ever act on their own initiative, they are accused of high-handedness and people begin to feel their liberties to be in danger. But it is well to remember that continual interference with a Minister's actions is not synonymous with liberty. Once a Minister has been selected, it is only fair that he should be given a chance to carry out his duties without being persistently heckled. Moreover, a reformed system of franchise and candidature should ensure the election of really capable Ministers who could be relied upon not to misuse their powers. Parliament, however, would retain its right to periodically examine the conduct of Ministers. This would keep Ministers within appropriate bounds while not unduly hampering their movements.

Modern democracies have failed tragically in the sphere of economic administration also. Till lately, it was not considered desirable even to attempt an interference with commercial and financial conditions; but, as we have already seen, circumstances have forced them to abandon this policy of indifference. Still, however, a lingering faith in *laissez-faire* prevents effective action and industry continues to function contrary to the interests of large masses of people. The working class has no security of employment and the disharmonies of private capitalism continue to involve millions in periodical misery. A system of regulated private enterprise is clearly indicated under the

circumstances and has long been advocated by the most distinguished economists. But before such regulation can be achieved, democratic administrators must recognize that *laissez-faire*, in conferring economic liberty upon one section of the people, withholds it from a much larger section. Since true democracy aims above all at an equitable distribution of liberty, *laissez-faire* as now practised should be rigorously eschewed. We should not hesitate to limit the freedom of the magnates of industry so that the masses may be provided with economic security; for economic security is the foundation stone on which all liberty rests.

The dictatorial states have, indeed, succeeded in tremendously enhancing the economic security of the working classes, without disseminating a proportionate degree of liberty. And this forcibly brings home to us the perversity of their methods. For although economic security is undoubtedly preferable to civil liberty, it has little value if entirely divorced from the latter. In fact bare economic security cannot for any length of time satisfy any but the lowest type of human being. The problem for democracies, therefore, is to manage the economic system in such a way as to ensure for everybody a reasonable amount of security coupled with a reasonable amount of liberty. Obviously, this cannot be done by the rigid planning practised in dictatorial countries. Some sort of planning, however, is necessary if the multiplicity of capricious and unregulated decisions of private capitalists is to be prevented from reacting disastrously on the nation as a whole.

Sir Arthur Salter, in his book "The Framework of an Ordered Society," has shown how the advantages of economic planning can be enjoyed without prejudicing the cause of liberty. He suggests that the various national industries, which are already approaching the stage of complete internal integration, should delegate representatives to a National Economic Board for the purpose of formulating, under the general supervision of Parliament, a comprehensive economic policy for the entire nation. After the policy has been finally arrived at, the Board would apply itself to the business of appropriately administering that policy. In this way, individual industrialists could be prevented from being guided entirely by the profit motive, and would have to adjust their movements so as to conform with the common good. At the same time, Parliament would no longer have to spend a valuable portion of its time in fixing the details of economic

policy—a task, moreover, for which it is not at all fitted. The essential virtue of the scheme, however, is that industry is directed to the public interest without depriving the industrialists of their liberty of action; for although they are not left entirely to their own devices, they unquestionably retain the essence of liberty, as truly conceived. •

Some such reform as this is essential if democracy is to be rehabilitated in the estimation of modern peoples. If, further, it is coupled with the more purely political reforms indicated earlier, democracy may yet regain the vitality and the compelling attractiveness which it once possessed.

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

SUBALCHANDRA BISWAS, B.A.

The kaleidoscopic changes in European politics are seen times out of number. The international situation has been moving fast since the Munich Pact which is pregnant with grave consequences in the future. Germany is growing from strength to strength by 'Anschluss' and by the cession of Czechoslovakia to the third Reich.

The present trend of British foreign policy is directed in such a way as to maintain the British empire against any possible menace in Europe, Africa and Asia. In England there are two groups of statesmen who are advocating two different courses of action in order to gain the same objective of maintaining the British empire against the aggression of any hostile Power. One group of statesmen headed by Tories like Mr. Eden supported by some Liberals and Labourites intend to follow the course of Anglo-French-Russian understanding or alliance against German-Italian-Japanese group of Powers. Also they count the active support of the United States of America in order to wage an aggressive warfare against the Fascist Powers. Another group of British statesmen who are Tories of the type of Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Samuel Hoare, Sir John Simon (a liberal Tory), Lord Halifax (the former Viceroy of India, Lord Irwin) and others are following the course of Anglo-French-Italian understanding. Their idea is to preserve the *mutual interest* in the Mediterranean, Africa and the Near East and thus check the increase of the Russian and the German influence in those regions. British diplomacy is to employ one enemy to destroy another enemy. There can be no gainsaying the fact that the present trend of British foreign policy is directed against Russia. It was proved when Russia was not invited to the Four-Power Conference. How far the exclusion of Russia outside the Anglo-French collaboration is judicious will be discussed later.

Mr. Chamberlain sacrificed the national cause by excluding Russia only for the interest of his party politics. He was subjected to criticism after the Munich Pact. He defended himself that Britain is not prepared for a major conflict in Europe. Is not the National Government responsible for the neglect of British defence? Who is responsible for the neglect of British re-armament for three years? It is needless to say that Mr. Chamberlain is following a pro-Fascist policy. It can be proved from the history of the last five years when the National Government came into power. Britain would not have yielded to Germany during the Czechoslovakian crisis had she been prepared for war.

Every student of history knows that Britain has assumed the status of a great Power since the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688. During this long period of two hundred and fifty years she has been playing an important rôle in world politics. The supremacy of the British naval power and Two-Power standard of her naval strength enabled her in the past to maintain a *status quo* in the political situation of the world. Britain's naval superiority to other great nations enabled her to establish a far-flung empire. But now her naval superiority has been challenged due to the different perspective of the international political situations of the

world. The emergence of Japan in the Far East and the United States of America in the Far West as great naval Powers has changed the entire situation. These two great Powers are far beyond the cordon of the British navy.

From 1688 to 1918 Britain controlled the narrow seas round Europe, namely, the Mediterranean, the Channel, the North Sea and the Baltic. Even the enemies' fleets were bottled up at their home waters. But now they can no longer be controlled by naval power only due to the development of aerial warfare.

After the last World War the resurgent Germany and Italy as Great military Powers has changed the entire political situation in Europe. The totalitarian states have combined themselves together and the peace of the world is imperilled by the menace of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo triangle.

Mr. Chamberlain's overtures to Germany and Italy will be of no avail for Dictators' appetite for earth hunger could never be appeased. 1939 is not 1914. The hostility of either or both Japan and America would paralyse historic British strategy, for it would make it impossible for Britain to bring the whole pressure to bear upon her European enemy. In case of a major conflict the British navy will split up in three places, namely, in the North Sea, the Mediterranean and the Far East. "Dominion Nationalism" which has shattered the unity of the Commonwealth's foreign policy is one of the factors of the weakness of Britain which has lost too many strategic positions due to the Spanish civil war.

I have drawn the political miniature of the world in a small canvass. The colossal Russian Power whose help is essential for the welfare of the British empire is also threatened by the Jap-German alliance. A bold stand should be taken by Britain, France, Russia and America and they may crush the totalitarian states which have signed the Anti-Comintern Pact against democracy. Also freedom should be given to India by Britain, for a powerful India would be an asset to Britain, in her crisis.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Study of Hindustani

It is understood that a proposal for the compulsory study of one of the modern Indian languages, preferably basic Hindustani, by pupils of the Anglo-Indian and European schools was among the subjects considered at the meeting of the Madras Provincial Board for Anglo-Indian and European Education held at the Secretariat. The Hon. Mr. C. J. Varkey, Minister for Education, presided. No decision was taken but it appears that certain practical difficulties in fitting in this subject in the curriculum were discussed.

It was finally recommended that the matter should be referred to the Committee which some time ago considered questions relating to Anglo-Indian and European education.

Cultural Academy

A scheme for establishing on the Malabar Coast an academy, which will combine the ideals of the Indian *ashram* and those of the modern college, for a comparative study of sociological and psychological problems is being worked out by Dr. G. H. Mees, a sociologist and educationist of Holland, who is now at Mysore.

Dr. Mees is well known in India through his extensive tours, his lectures and his books *Dharma and Society* and the *Human Family and India*.

The main object of this academy, according to Dr. Mees, will be cultural reconstruction on a practical basis and training of leaders for such work in the country. Though some rural reconstruction work in the neighbourhood of the *ashram* will be undertaken, the academy will not be a centre or school for rural reconstruction, but has wider and deeper aims. Study will be pursued mainly along two lines, first, sociology—chiefly problems of civilization, and secondly, psychology—mostly problems of culture, religion, etc.

Sanskrit and modern European languages will also be taught.

University for Assam

It is understood that a Bill relating to the establishment of a University for Assam has been drafted and is ready to be placed before the Assembly.

Indian Museums

With a view to increasing the educative value of Indian Museums and public interest therein, and in pursuance of a resolution passed to this effect

at the Museums Conference held at Delhi in December, 1937, the Archaeological section of the Indian Museum have undertaken the scheme of publishing a series of guides to the exhibits in the Museum. Two volumes of this series have already been published. They cover the early school and the Greeco-Buddhist schools of Gandhara. Other two, one concerning the later Indian schools of sculpture, such as those of Mathura, Amaravati and Gupta, and the other describing the metal images at the Museum, from the earliest to the modern times, will soon be published. A guide to the pre-historic collections of the Museum will be taken up when work on the two volumes have been completed. The guide books, arranged in a systematic order and profusely illustrated, will enable their readers to secure first-hand knowledge and information regarding the collections in the archaeological section of the Museum. The first two parts of the guide were prepared by the late Mr. N. G. Mazumdar, former Superintendent of the Archaeological section, while the other two are being prepared by Mr. T. N. Ramchandran, the present Superintendent of Archaeology, Indian Museum.

The Archaeological section have also undertaken a scheme of printing picture post-cards, illustrating the most important phases of the Indian archaeology. The cards will have a photograph of an exhibit on one side of them, together with a short description. This scheme, it is expected, will have sufficient educative and instructive value, for which purpose it is being worked out.

Vidya Mandir Scheme

All the teachers recently trained in the Vidya Mandir Scheme of education have been provided with appointments, according to a statement made to the "Associated Press" by the Vidya Mandir Organising Officer, Wardha. He says that one hundred such teachers have been absorbed in the newly established Vidya Mandirs in the C. P. and Berar, nine have been retained on the Vidya Mandir staff in Wardha, while 44 have been posted in the Wardha District Schools where they form a compact block for the purpose of experimenting on the basic education scheme.

About sixty buildings for these schools are nearing completion. In Wardha tahsil, Seth Jammalal Bajaj has made a gift of a valuable piece of land for the construction of buildings for a new school.

Miscellany

ITALIAN RAILWAYS

Italy today possesses about 23,000 km. of railway lines, of which the chief network, consisting of 17,000 km., is worked by the State (one Km. = $\frac{5}{8}$ mile). The railway system has introduced many improvements during recent years.

With regard to the rolling stock, the old steam engines have been for the most part substituted by new and much more efficient types. Besides, there are electric locomotives and gasoline engines, in pursuance of the development of the new traction system. The passenger coaches have also nearly all been replaced by much more elegant and comfortable types; the majority being constructed in metal, which provides greater safety in case of accidents. The goods trains have been considerably increased by specially constructed trucks destined for the transport of perishable merchandise, which is of the utmost importance in the internal economy of the country. All the rolling stock acquired recently has, be it observed, been constructed by Italian firms.

As regards the railway tracks, besides a doubling of many lines and a strengthening of many of those already in existence, new trunk lines of considerable importance have been created, and among these special mention must be made of the two direct lines between Rome and Naples and Bologna and Florence. These two lines have contributed to a more rapid and efficient communication between the North and the South of Italy. In addition to the improvement in the lines, provision has been made for the renovation of numerous railway stations, by rendering them more decorative, and furnishing them with commodious spaces embellished by gardens, and spacious waiting rooms and entrance halls decorated in an artistic manner.

The new exigencies of modern life, which continually require more rapid and frequent communication, and the competition carried on by road and air transport, have in these last few years, compelled all the railways to search for a system more adapted to this aim. For the Italian State Railways, the solution has been in the development of electric traction and in the adoption of gasoline motors, according to a general plan that has come to be adopted.

The lines of the country are divided into two big categories. The first includes nearly all the main lines, of a total length of about 9,000 km., all of which are going to be electrified. In the second category are included the other lines of a total length of about 8,000 km., on which for the most part trains will run by means of gasoline engines.

The system of electric traction which is of special importance for Italy, considering the fact that up till now she has depended to a very great extent on coal imported from abroad, has been adopted on the State Railway since 1901. Today it has already extended to 4,000 km. of the most important lines, and there is another 1,100 km. in course of electrification, which will be completed during the year 1939. So there will then be a total network of electrified lines amounting to 5,100 km., which requires only a consumption of a million and a half tons of coal. This is

half the amount that was consumed when the entire system was worked by steam.

The lines comprised in the second category mostly serve local passenger services, and, therefore, lend themselves to light traffic. For this, the gasoline motors of the "Littorina" type are particularly adapted and are capable of augmenting the speed and frequency of the trains, thus offering to the public immense advantages, sometimes even excelling those offered by automobile road transport.

Besides employing special types of auto-motors, that are used for restaurant service on the long distance trains, express trains composed of three communicating carriages with a restaurant service have been initiated on the Bologna-Naples line, and these run for the entire distance of 629 km. at the speed of 104 km. per hour.

These innovations on the Italian railway system are coupled with improvement in punctuality as well as cleanliness and comfort to the trains.

As Italy is like Egypt one of the most tourist-ridden countries of the world, all these improvements and modernizations have served to raise the reputation of Italian railway administration among foreigners.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL IN FRANCE

To the historian of economic ideas and development, the creation of the *Conseil national économique* will appear to be one of the most characteristic evidences of the economic and social evolution in the twentieth century. It is a post-War creation and one that reveals a novel state of mind. Among its founders is to be reckoned, by the side of the representatives of the *Confédération Générale du Travail*, a pure scientist, Prof. Charles Gide, the most independent and humane of French economists.

During 1938 (six months) the Council conducted minute enquiries into the national economic problems either at the request of Government or on its own initiative. Among those problems we may mention the deficit in the balance of trade, agricultural output, and the supply of credit. It prosecuted concurrently the investigations undertaken last year: the problem of labour and unemployment, including a thorough study of the professional training of labour in industry, trade and navigation.

The organisation of labour, the relations between employers and wage-earners have claimed special attention; an attempt has been and is being made to perfect the processes of conciliation and arbitration, while applications for the extension of "collective conventions" have been carefully taken into consideration. In so doing no effort has been spared to bring about an agreement between the representatives of employers and workers as to the amendments that might be introduced in the ways and means of applying the law on the 40-hour week.

In February 1938, M. Georges Bonnet instructed the *Conseil National Economique* to carry on a rapid survey of the problems raised by the deficit in the balance of trade in so far as agricultural output is concerned. An initial committee, made up solely of representatives of agriculture, was entrusted with the duty of hearing the suggestions of the farmers and to draw up, jointly with the leading agricultural bodies, a comprehensive synopsis of concrete proposals. Then a second committee was set up,

comprising, besides the representatives of the farmers, those of trade and industry, of the Colonies and of the consumers, for the purpose of comparing the proposals of the farmers' representatives with those of the other forms of activity. The object was to evolve such solutions as might best suit the general interests of the country—a task of collation and conciliation which is the very justification of National Economic Council's existence.

The representatives of the farmers dwelt on the fact that while the greater part of the profits, in the balance of trade, come under three main headings—textiles, motor-fuel and oil products—it would be a mistake to overlook one of the outstanding causes of the agricultural depression and the comparative desertion of the countryside, *viz.*, the growing neglect of a number of products erroneously held to be of secondary importance, though perhaps of great value, really, both from a social and from an economic point of view.

The Committee were led, moreover, to consider the situation of French agricultural prices as compared with world prices.

At the moment, the general statement summing up the views of the representatives of the farmers serves as basis for the task of collation performed by the Committee and the five Sub-Committees they have appointed.

The Committee of supply have enquired into the threefold problem of credits for the farmers, the financing of State deals, and medium term credits. In order to promote the granting of loans to the farmers, it is necessary in the first place to limit mutual loans to farmers, while defining accurately such operations as can be financed by those loans. The strict discrimination between those operations must depend, moreover, upon the length of the term. The protection of the peasants' savings would be strengthened, were the Farmers' Loan Funds, without having recourse to advances from the State, to form regional and subsequently nation-wide groups and build up among themselves a depositors' insurance fund. A dual system of control is being thought out, applicable to both classes of funds: on the one hand, a very strict control, both of a technical and an administrative character, is to be exercised over such Farmers' Loan Funds as may apply to the State for financial assistance; on the other hand, due protection of the savings of the rural population as well as the granting of a special fiscal statute both justify the setting up of State control over such Funds as do not apply for financial assistance. This credit machinery requires the financial education of the rural communities.

The financing of State deals is dealt with in a Report by M. Devillez, auditor at the *Cour des Comptes*, who points out the administrative difficulties in the way and suggests a number of appropriate measures for their removal. It has been found necessary to introduce, into the deals of the several public Departments, common provisions of a nature to lighten the difficulties of both contractors and purveyors, without whittling down the guarantees protecting the rights of the State. The provisions contemplated relate *inter alia* to the system of surety-bonds, discounts and payments, and the generalizations of the process of order letters.

In these conclusions, be it noted, is to be found the inspiration of the decree-law of May 2, 1938, relating to credit, as regards the special provisions dealing with the regulation and financing of administrative deals. Such provisions, it is stated in the preamble to the decree, are intended to remove the difficulties "recently voiced by the *Conseil National Economique* and met with in the implementing of these deals."

The Credit Committee, likewise at the behest of the Central Committee on medium term credit, enquired into the main difficulties now standing in the way of the extension of such medium term credit in France.

The 40-hour week has been the subject of a number of draft decrees taken into consideration by the National Economic Council, notably as regards the extension to Algeria of legislation already in operation in France, the recuperation of the hours lost in consequence of collective unemployment and the extension of working hours in the event of an extraordinary increase of extra work.

Finally, the relations between employers and wage-earners and the extension of "collective bargaining" have been dealt with in a number of highly interesting studies and reports. The Council's suggestions have been often adopted by employers and wage-earners and are embodied in the Decree Laws of May 2, 1938, as regards the extension of collective bargaining.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

FRENCH PLANNING IN PUBLIC WORKS

During the last few months the Government of France has endeavoured to ascertain the real needs of the country: technicians have been appointed to study them carefully as well as the most practical means of meeting them. This procedure has led to the drafting of a scheme of rural and urban public works dealing more particularly with such as are capable of being speedily carried out.

Decree Laws issued on May 2, 1938, deal precisely with that scheme; the cost of the works capable of being speedily carried out is estimated at 11 milliards of francs. It is proposed that the State shall find rather more than half this amount—6 milliards—while the public bodies are to raise and supply the balance—5 milliards.

The financial contribution of the State is to be spread over three years 1938, 1939, 1940, and provision is made for the carrying over from one year to the next any unutilised credits remaining over at the end of the financial year. The annual amount of such credits is to be about 1,136 million francs for 1938, 1,998 millions for 1939, and 1,934 millions for 1940. Finally, 773 millions have been allowed for 1941, and 1,595 millions for 1942.

Those 6 milliards are appropriated to public works appertaining to different Ministries:

Ministry of Public Health 1,400 millions—including 800 for the building of cheap tenements, 400 for slum clearances, 100 for works of hygiene, hospitals, etc.

Ministry of National Education 1,150 millions—including 139 for the Fine Art Department, the balance for school building, etc.

Ministry of Public Works 1,150 millions—including about 560 for the road system, 190 for the seaports, 159 for river improvements, etc.

Ministry of Agriculture 1,000 millions—including 735 for rural equipment, 150 for the improvement of country dwellings, 65 for forestry works, re-timbering of land, pasture, etc.

Ministry of Interior 525 millions (for the road system), 290 millions and 200 (for departmental and communal utility works).

Colonial Ministry 275 millions.

Air Ministry 198 millions for civil aviation.

Postal Ministry 147 millions.

Apart from the above, 100 millions have been appropriated for North Africa, including 40 millions for Public Works and the improvement of the standard of life of the French Algerians, and 23 millions for works of unemployment relief for the indigenous inhabitants in Morocco and Tunisia.

In order to promote the contribution of the local public bodies to the financing of these works, steps have been taken to expand the credit provided for them by official or specialised institutions, such as the *Caisse de crédit aux départements et aux communes*, *Credit Foncier*, *Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations*, as well as to facilitate the loans extended by those bodies in the areas in which the works themselves are being carried out.

The *Caisse de Crédit* has been instructed to draw up permanent lists of such applications for loans as present the required guarantees, applications made by the public bodies desiring loans, etc. It has been laid down that 50% of the monies raised shall, with the full assent of *Caisses d'assurances sociales*, be appropriated to the *Credit départemental et communal*, as from January 1, 1941 at which date will cease to operate the common labour fund fed by the capitalization of the monies accruing from social insurance and hitherto serving to ensure the functioning of the *Caisse de Crédit*. One-half of these investments will be financed direct by the *Caisse de Crédit* and the balance appropriated by the *Caisses d'assurances sociales*, subject to the approval of the *Caisse de Crédit*, to loans to the departments and communes.

The Government have agreed upon special measures, concerning such works of hydro-electric equipment as may be carried by private enterprise: annuities will be allotted to concessionary concerns for hydraulic power with a view to lightening the initial expenses for such new plants as they may set up. To these annuities the Ministry of Public Works has been empowered to appropriate a credit of 10,000,000 francs. Exemption from taxation has been granted on the scrip of concerns engaged in a public service for the production, transport or distribution of water, gas and electricity. With the concurrence of the public authorities a company has been set up comprising as shareholders almost the whole of the concerns for the production, transport and distribution of electric power in every part of France. Its object is to promote the financing of a scheme of major electrical works without the assistance of the State or of the public bodies. Be it noted that this initiative had been preceded by an offer made by the French heavy industries to supply the main electrical equipment to the amount of about 3 milliards of francs.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

GROSS AND NET REPRODUCTION RATES IN ENGLAND

The most important feature of the Population (Statistics) Act, recently passed by Parliament, says Mr. R. F. Harrod in a paper on "Population Trends and Problems" in the *Lloyds Bank Ltd. Monthly Review* (January, 1939), is that it requires the Registrar-General to record the age of mothers at child-birth. This will enable a precise calculation of reproduction rates to be made. There is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of Mr. Kuczynski's figures; but if the population crisis gives rise to measures entailing sacrifices on some part of the community, the public might be discontented if they were told that the figures used to justify such measures were partly based on an analogy with foreign countries.

The use of these measures affords a glimpse into the future. It is sometimes supposed that those who give warnings of a declining population assume that the recent tendency for the size of the family to decline will go further. This is not so. The real point is that *if the size of the family is not enlarged*, the population will undergo a considerable and continual decline.

It may be well to scrutinise the assumptions with regard to births and deaths on which prognostications depend, and to consider deaths first.

Some optimists hope that our population may be saved by a decline in mortality. But the impossibility of this may, unfortunately, be affirmed with complete certainty. It will be remembered that the gross reproduction rate eliminates, and is, therefore, independent of, the incidence of deaths. Mr. Kuczynski has computed the gross reproduction rate as 0·84 for England and Wales in 1933, 0·86 in 1934 and 1935, and 0·87 in 1936. The gross reproduction rate shows the replacement of population on the supposition that no deaths occur from the moment of birth until the end of the child-bearing period. These rates show that even if all these deaths could be eliminated the population would still, with the present size of family, decline at the rate of about 15 per cent. per generation for ever. The situation will not be helped by an increase of longevity after the child-bearing period. A spectacular improvement of this sort might lead to some temporary increase in the population, that increase taking entirely the form of more old people, but they must die some day, and the rate of decline in the numbers of younger people would be steadily maintained.

The comparative unimportance of the death-rate in the modern age is shown by the closeness of the two reproduction rates, net and gross (0·76 and 0·86). In 1870-72 the net and gross rates for England and Wales were 1·51 and 2·34. The reduction in the gap between these rates indicates the improvement in infant mortality. One may say approximately that while the number of children born to the average woman has fallen to one-third of the old number, the number of surviving children has fallen only to about one-half. The rates (net and gross) given by Mr. Kuczynski for Japan in 1930 are 1·32 and 2·32—strangely reminiscent of mid-Victorian England.

If there is a considerable gap between the two rates, a country may reasonably hope that a substantial decline in mortality will bring about a large improvement in its population prospects. Western and Northern Europe, the United States and the Dominions are no longer able to rely upon that hope, for the gap has already been closed.

In holding that an improvement in social conditions would bring about an increase of population, the old economists did not sufficiently distinguish between the effect of such an improvement on the death-rate and on the birth-rate. If child mortality is high and there is, therefore, a big gap between gross and net reproduction rates, an improvement in conditions may be expected to increase population by substantially increasing the net reproduction rate. This was actually happening in the time of these economists, and was entirely responsible for the acceleration of the population increase in England in the nineteenth century. To this extent the economists were right.

But we now know that they were wrong in supposing that the improvements in social conditions stimulated births. There was in fact no substantial increase in births per head at the end of the eighteenth or

during the nineteenth century in England. The effect on population ascribed to improving conditions did not operate through the birth-rate, and there is no evidence that it ever does.

Thus the "law of population," which was supposed to operate both through deaths and births, in fact operates through the former only. And it will do so if child mortality is fairly high. This indicates precisely the limits to the validity of the doctrine. The Malthusian view that greater prosperity stimulates population was true of England in the age of which he wrote, and is still true of backward parts of the world. For other parts of the world it is now invalid.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE FINANCIAL THEORY OF GERMAN ECONOMIC RECOVERY

National Socialism has never acted according to a preconceived theoretical economic programme, said Dr. H. Schacht, President of the Reichsbank in November, 1938, at a public meeting of the *Deutsche Akademie* (Munich). As I had entered into personal contact with the leaders of National Socialism since the end of 1930, I have been a witness of how the Führer has repeatedly rejected the numerous attempts to draw up a detailed National Socialist Economic Programme, and has stood by general philosophical basis of the Party Programme. In 1933, therefore, economic action immediately took the place of economic declamation. The ideas of "financing consumption" which at first attracted much attention and had in mind the indiscriminate distribution of money by the State were all swept aside. In this way the mistakes were avoided which we have seen in the present policy of the United States of America and France, and which show how closely related are deflation crises and inflation crises. Instead of this all State aid was from the beginning applied to increasing production, first, in what was known as a programme of work-creation by granting credits for reconditioning, repairs, etc., and after that through the great and ever-increasing defence programme. The size of this programme and of the construction of the motorways which had been begun soon showed that these two undertakings alone would bring back into the market all unused labour, so that other measures for creating work very soon became superfluous.

This whole programme of work-creation and rearmament could of course only be set in motion by the State and only with the help of large financial backing. There was no available capital for this financing. Help had rather to be sought by creating money. The classical theory of national economy allows the creation of money only when the goods in circulation in the economic system have already increased, and on the other hand forbids any financing of production and above all a sudden expansion of credit. This theory only applies in the free, uncontrolled economy which served as a source of knowledge for the classical national economists. In such an uncontrolled economy a heavy increase of money must lead to rising prices and wages and so to tensions which ultimately result in an economic crisis.

With National Socialism, however, came State-controlled economy in its widest scope, becoming more intensified with time, which made it possible to avoid rises in prices and wages. Thus one of the chief objections to financing production by credit was overcome. Credit was used to produce

a greater amount of goods, and there now only remained the task of setting the limit to the amount to which the creation of money could go. For creation of money by the State always carries with it the danger of excess, which leads to inflationist tendencies. It was not only a question of seeing that the newly created money was covered by newly created goods, but also of discerning the kind of goods these should be.

Reduced to a simple formula, the problem may be stated as follows. The credit money supplied for purposes of rearmament produces through payment of wages and salaries a demand for consumers' goods. Armaments-manufacturers, however, supply military goods, which, though produced, are not consumed. This has two consequences: In the first place, care must be taken that besides the manufacture of armaments a quantity of consumers' goods should be produced that is adequate for the existence of the population, including all those occupied in the armaments industry; and secondly, the less the amount consumed, the more the labour that can be used for rearmament, but on the other hand, the higher the consumption rises, the greater the labour that must be applied to the production of consumers' goods. The standard of living and the extent of rearmament stand, therefore, in inverse ratio to each other. The less I consume, the more I save, and the more I save, the more I can put into defence. This means that rearmament cannot ultimately be financed by creating money, but only by a policy of saving.

When the Führer called me back to the head of the Reichsbank to assist in the financing of work-creation schemes and defence, I was quite clear about these facts, since I had learnt during many years of economic work to distinguish between money as a medium of exchange and capital savings, which are the means of production. It was equally clear to me, however, that I had first to build a bridge to this normal method of financing by means of savings, for our income from taxation had sunk to a minimum, and our capital market was empty. I could do nothing to alter this state of affairs as long as trade remained at such a low ebb. Consequently the only correct way was for the Bank of Issue first to supply the necessary credits for the creation of work and rearmament, and to keep doing so until industry again showed profits that allowed of extensive saving and consolidation. Only then could—and indeed must—the transition of financing by taxation and loans be effected. The Reichsbank was also quite clear on the point that although it can start the forces of industrial recovery, it cannot control them alone without the State. It undertook nevertheless the risk of an expansion of credit, fixed beforehand at milliards of marks, because it was certain of finding the full support of the whole State-machine in its main duty of protecting the currency.

The numerous measures subsequently taken in close co-operation with all the competent authorities were all intended to control the course of credit-expansion, to prevent a discrepancy between the amount of money and the amount of goods, and to invest surplus money in defence loans. These measures fall into two groups according to their application. The first group is purely in the nature of a credit and finance policy. To this belong the finance policy as a whole, reduction of the rate of interest, legislation relating to loan-stock, supervision of the bank, the permanent "skimming" of the money-market by the bills of the gold-discount bank, and, most important of all, control over the note issue. I emphasise particularly this last much-discussed measure because for a long time to come the defence of the currency and the maintenance of the level of interest will make it indispensable to concentrate the means accumulating on the capital market

to a very great extent on the financing of rearmament and the Four Year Plan.

The second group of measures on which the Reichsbank had to concentrate comprises the direct influence on prices and wages assigned to the Reich Commissioner for Price Control and to the Labour Trustees. It is their duty to intercept immediately any pressure that may still be felt, in spite of the policy of credit and finance control, and thus to protect our currency from the reciprocal rise of prices and wages which is rightly considered the sign of inflation. It follows quite naturally from the importance of this that control of prices and wages must be maintained and, if need be, strengthened until an adequate consolidation of short-term defence credits from the capital market has been effected.

The interaction of all the measures has so far achieved the maintenance of the German currency. The spring of 1938 is an important stage in our finance policy, because with it German economy had reached full employment. But as soon as a national economy has put into use the last available labour and all available materials, any further expansion of credit is not only senseless but harmful. For then fresh money can no longer start the production of fresh goods, but only create competition for existing labour and raw materials. And such a competition must, in spite of all State measures and supervision, drive up prices and wages. Now the conception of full capacity is, of course, elastic. Such a large national economy as the German will always be able to mobilise certain reserves of labour and achieve certain results by rationalization. But there was no longer room for an expansion of credit in the old style, and from this the responsible authorities have drawn their conclusions. On April 1, 1938, the creation of credit by the issuing bank was stopped and the financing of State orders assigned solely to the method of taxation and loans. The transition was effected by means of treasury-bills.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Life and Teachings of Buddha, by Devamitta Dharmapala. G. A. Natesan and Co. Madras. Price As. 12.

This is a booklet dwelling on a few aspects of the Life and Teachings of Buddha, by the late Rev. Anagarika Dharmapala who as a Buddhist monk took the name of Devamitta. The writings of this premier Buddhist worker in India require no introduction for their acceptance by the public. Though it has not been possible within the limited scope of the work to bring forth all the salient features of the vast subject dealt with therein, the author has undoubtedly made clear in bold and unambiguous language some of Buddha's most intricate phases of life and teachings which have been all taken from original Pali with references to the relevant texts. The manner of his exposition of Buddha's 'Dharma' is superb and is in perfect agreement with the orthodox Theravada views, of which he was the champion.

The book, however, would have been more attractive and appealing had there been no reflections cast at other religions by way of contrast which have been due to the enthusiasm of a missionary rather than to the skill of a dispassionate scholar and the quotations in original Pali would have looked more dignified with their proper diacritical marks in Roman character.

The extracts from the Dhammapadam, the speech of Swami Vivekananda relating to the life of Buddha and the views of Mahatma Gandhi on Buddha as appended to the work by the publishers, have greatly enhanced its value and embellished its original outlook which we doubt not will commend itself highly not only to devout Buddhists but to all who desire to have a first hand knowledge of Buddha and Buddhism from the orthodox standpoint in a short compass.

G. D. D.

Thro' Eastern Eyes, by Nand Qomar. Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Bo

It is "a modern poetic survey of some aspects of the world to-day depicting the thoughts and ideas of an eastern observer." The author has attempted a blend of Indian mysticism and "hyper-modern" verse.

The poet has been appalled at the destructiveness of the impending world war, and he has tried to visualise it and describe it both in words and in colours. Man has to face his complete annihilation; peace and brotherhood seem to be empty cries; but through Eastern eyes there appears a ray of hope, and though the Chinese villages are being bombed, and Shanghai, the emblem of peace between East and West, is destroyed, we will smile all the way down the dusky road of strife, for a smile can do wonders when all other resources fail and life seems a dreary journey deserted by all that savours of grace. This insistence on rallying the inner forces is in keeping with the claim put forward by the author that Indian mysticism voices its time-honoured note through his utterances. Some of

the poems are in exact tune with the aim and purpose for which they set out, and the sonnets, without pretensions, echo the grave thoughts which the times prompt in us; and the eleven studies in coloured representations greatly set off the lines. Altogether an enjoyable book.

P. R. SEN. •

The Science of the Self, by Bhagavan Das, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Ben. and All.). The Indian Book Shop, Benares. Price Re. 1-8.

The author is to be congratulated on his illuminating presentation of Vedanta-Yoga not merely as a Metaphysic of the self but also in its concrete application to the ordering of human life in both its individual and social aspects. Starting from the Vedantic conception of the Absolute as the self which is also the imaginative position as well as negation of itself as a this I or object-self, the author works out this basic Vedantic conception with extraordinary skill into a physical theory and psychology that provide a *rationale* for the dual aspect of the self as the self-unfolding, self-concretising, self-objectifying reality in experience and as the de-materialising de-individualising, self-withdrawing Absolute as the negation of all forms of empirical objectivity. Both these aspects are illustrated in great detail in the phenomena of the material world, in living beings and in minds, and the reader who goes through the work will be struck by the erudition which the author displays in his treatment as also by the architectonic skill and masterly grasp with which he handles a bewildering mass of scientific facts and theories. What is particularly noteworthy in this connection is the author's criticism of the psychoanalytical school in psychology and of communism and socialism in political theory, the merits as well as the weaknesses whereof are noted with great accuracy and penetration. It will be no exaggeration to say that the work is unique in a way expounding as it does, not merely an anatomy of the Vedantic metaphysic but also Vedanta in practice, *i.e.*, Vedantic principles in their concrete operation in the physical, the hyper-physical and the psychic strata of the Universe. In this respect the work will compare favourably with Hegel's writings, though illustrative of a fundamentally different conception of the self. The author's observations on the essentials of social organisation, on the requirements of sound leadership and on the safeguards against usurpation of powers are also suggestive and instructive and deserve serious consideration by workers in the social and political fields.

S. K. MAITRA.

Ourselfes

[I. *The Fifteenth Death Anniversary of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.*—II. *The General Medical Council on the Retrospective Recognition of Medical Degrees*—III. *Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis's Scheme of Statistical Studies.*—IV. *Dr. W. S. Urquhart.*—V. *University Representative on the Industrial Research Council.*—VI. *A New Prize in Bengali.*—VII. *A New D.Sc.*—VIII. *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Prize in Zoology and Botany for 1938.*—IX. *Dr. H. K. Mookerjee to Serve on Fish Committee*—X. *The Haraganga College, Munshiganj*—XI. *The Sir Asutosh College, Kanungopara, Chittagong.*—XII. *The Victoria Institution, Calcutta.*—XIII. *The Comilla Victoria College.*—XIV. *The Lady Brabourne College (for Girls), Calcutta.]*

I. THE FIFTEENTH DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

The fifteenth death anniversary of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was commemorated in Calcutta on the 25th May last.

A meeting was held in the morning at the foot of Sir Asutosh's statue in the Chowringhee Square. Sir M. N. Mukherji who presided spoke of the principal achievements of Sir Asutosh. He said that Sir Asutosh had turned the University of Calcutta into a veritable Nalanda of Bengal, and that he had given a high status to the Bengali language, which has now become a medium of instruction for the Matriculation Examination. By this work of Sir Asutosh, said Sir Manmatha, the Bengali language has received wide recognition all over the world, and love of Bengal has been instilled into the hearts of the Bengalees who have learned to look upon their country and its language with pride. Sir Manmatha referred to the critical times through which the country was passing and said that had Sir Asutosh been still alive, the vexed questions in the fields of education, politics, and religion would have met with a satisfactory solution. He urged his countrymen to emulate in their life and thought the example of Sir Asutosh.

A hymn in praise of Sir Asutosh written in Sanskrit by Pandit Asoknath Sastri was chanted. The girl students of the Asutosh College sang songs in chorus.

Another meeting was held in the afternoon at the Darbhanga Building, presided over by our Vice-Chancellor, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. Aziz-ul Huque.

The Vice-Chancellor recalled the chief events in the life of Sir Asutosh and observed that no outside pressure swerved him from the

course which he chose to follow; he never hesitated to face the consequences of his vision or to stand against public fury if he thought himself to be in the right. Lord Minto had invited Sir Asutosh to become the Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1906 and from that time until the end of his life, he served the University and the cause of education and, although for a time he ceased to be the Vice-Chancellor, he still directed the policy of the University and even settled the details. He took a bold stand against the Non-Co-operation Movement and showed that public passions, even when raging fiercely, could not intimidate him or unsettle his convictions.

A full appraisalment of the great services of Sir Asutosh, continued the Vice-Chancellor, must wait for the future, for we are still living in his shadow. He said: "We are still too near the scene to judge him in a dispassionate manner, which is very much necessary for a true historical perspective; but whatever might be the future of the province, whatever might be the future developments of the University of Calcutta or of its educational institutions, Sir Asutosh's name will go down to posterity as of the one single man who made the University of Calcutta what it is now and will possibly be for many years to come." He referred to the tribute paid to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee by Lord Lytton who, when presiding over the condolence meeting of the Senate, spoke of this great man as one "who in the eyes of the world represented the University so completely that for many years Sir Asutosh was in fact the University and the University Sir Asutosh."

The Vice-Chancellor spoke of some of his reminiscences when, twenty-two years ago, he sat on the benches of the University Law College as a student, attending the lectures of Sir Asutosh in the Moot Court classes. He still marvelled at the brilliant exposition of the Law of Mortgage which Sir Asutosh offered in his ringing voice and in a simple, clear and lucid language. The Vice-Chancellor mentioned in passing how, while he was a student in the Post-Graduate Department, it once seemed to him that his association with politics which began at the time would force him to give up his studies, and how, when he brought the matter to the notice of Sir Asutosh, he was encouraged with his usual sympathy for students, with the result that the difficulty which had caused him so much worry never occurred again.

Concluding, the Vice-Chancellor said that the University would expand and grow according to the dream of the late Sir Asutosh by moving along the lines indicated by this great man, whom he characterised as a devoted and ardent nationalist and a patriot in the true sense of the term—a world-renowned jurist and an educationist of the highest order, and above all, a typical Bengalee

After the Vice-Chancellor's address, there was a *kirtan* performance.

II. THE GENERAL MEDICAL COUNCIL ON THE RETROSPECTIVE RECOGNITION OF MEDICAL DEGREES

The Executive Committee of the General Medical Council considered a letter from the Registrar, Calcutta University, on the subject of the retrospective recognition of the Calcutta M.B. degree by the General Medical Council at its meeting held on 4th April last. It was decided that the President should be requested to visit the Medical colleges in Calcutta and that all discussion of the subject be kept in abeyance until the next meeting of the Committee.

Our University has invited the President of the Executive Committee of the General Medical Council in India to visit the Medical colleges in Calcutta and acquaint himself with their working for the purpose of preparing his note on the question of retrospective recognition of the M.B. degree of this University.

III. PROF. P. C. MAHALANOBIS'S SCHEME OF STATISTICAL STUDIES

The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has sanctioned an extension of statistical studies for a period of three years with effect from the 1st July, 1939, at a total cost not exceeding Rs. 43,224.

As part of this scheme of extension two posts of statisticians on the grade of Rs. 200-25-500 have been created, one of which will be filled up by Mr. R. C. Bose and the other by recruitment through the Federal Public Service Commission. The University will appoint an Assistant Statistician and fill up other posts provided for in the extension scheme in consultation with Professor P. C. Mahalanobis.

IV. DR. W. S. URQUHART

Dr. W. S. Urquhart, a former Vice-Chancellor of this University who also worked as a lecturer in the Post-Graduate Department of Philosophy until his departure from this country two years ago, has returned a draft for £7-8-11, being his remuneration for examining a Ph.D. thesis and has suggested in a letter that the money be utilised towards payment of fees during the next session of meritorious students of the Philosophy Department, studying Philosophy of Religion as one of their subjects.

The University has conveyed its thanks to Dr. Urquhart and has made arrangements to give effect to his proposal.

V. UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVE ON THE INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

Professor P. N. Ghosh who is a member of the newly constituted Bengal Industrial Research Board has been invited by the Director of Industries, Bengal, to accompany him to the next session of the Industrial Research Council to be held in August this year. The University has conveyed to the Director its approval of the invitation made to Professor Ghosh.

VI. A NEW PRIZE IN BENGALI

Mr. Harihar Banerjee has offered to place the sum of Rs. 1,000 at the disposal of the University, stipulating that the annual interest thereon may be used in awarding a prize to the successful Hindu candidate who secures the highest number of marks in Bengali as compulsory language at the Matriculation Examination provided he prosecutes further studies in an affiliated college.

This prize will be named after late Haribhusan Ray, son of the late Kabiraj Jaminibhusan Ray.

The offer has been accepted with thanks.

VII. A NEW D.Sc.

Mr. Jatindranath Bhar, M.Sc., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science of this University on the strength of a thesis entitled "Studies of the Ionosphere in Calcutta."

The thesis was examined by Prof. E. V. Appleton, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., Prof. S. Chapman, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., and Prof. M. N. Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S., who recommended the work for the award of a Doctorate.

We offer our congratulations to Dr. Bhar on his success.

VIII. SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE PRIZE IN ZOOLOGY AND BOTANY
FOR 1938

The 2nd July, 1939, has been fixed as the last date for submission of theses for the Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Prize in Zoology and Botany for the year 1938.

IX. DR. H. K. MOOKERJEE TO SERVE ON FISH COMMITTEE

The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has requisitioned the services of Professor H. K. Mookerjee as a member of the *ad hoc* Fish Committee which will meet in Simla this year. The University has approved of the appointment provided it does not interfere with Professor Mookerjee's duties of teaching and guiding research in the Science College.

X. THE HARAGANGA COLLEGE, MUNSHIGANJ

The Haraganga College, Munshiganj (Dacca), has been affiliated to the I.A. and I.Sc. standards in the following subjects with effect from session 1939-40 :—

English, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Bengali (compulsory), History, Logic, Civics, Commercial Geography, Commercial Arithmetic, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and Botany.

XI. THE SIR ASUTOSH COLLEGE, KANUNGOPARA, CHITTAGONG

The Sir Asutosh College, Kanungopara, Chittagong, has been granted affiliation in the following subjects up to the I.A. standard with effect from the session 1939-40 :—

English, Bengali (compulsory), Sanskrit, History, Civics, Logic, Persian, Arabic, and Mathematics.

XII. THE VICTORIA INSTITUTION, CALCUTTA

The Victoria Institution has been granted affiliation in Botany to the B.A. Pass standard with effect from the next session (1939-40), extending its present scope of teaching.

XIII. THE COMILLA VICTORIA COLLEGE

In extension of the affiliation already granted, the Comilla Victoria College has been affiliated in Arabic to the B.A. Honours standard with effect from the session 1939-40.

XIV. THE LADY BRABOURNE COLLEGE (FOR GIRLS), CALCUTTA

The Lady Brabourne College (for Girls), Calcutta, has been affiliated in the following subjects with effect from the next session (1939-40) :—

English, Bengali and Urdu (as Compulsory languages), Arabic, Persian, Bengali and Urdu (as Second languages), History, Mathematics, Geography, Logic and Civics.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

An Illustrated Monthly

Established 1844

THIRD SERIES

Volume LXX

JANUARY—MARCH

1939

PUBLISHED BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

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Volume LXX ; Numbers 1—3

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Convocation Addresses, Vol. VII. Pp. 164 + vi.

Banga Sahityer Upanyasherdhara, by Dr. Srikumar Banerjee. M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 664. Rs. 5-8.

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Mahayudherpare Europe (in Bengali), by Mr. Susobhanchandra Sarkar, M.A. D/Demy 16mo pp. 208. Re. 1-0.

Upanishader Alo (in Bengali), by Dr. Mahendranath Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 147. As. 12.

Bangla Bhasa Parichay (in Bengali), by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. Demy 8vo pp. 192. As. 12.

A Grammar of Arabic Languages, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 282. Rs. 1-4.

The Fundamentals of Analysis, by Prof. F. W. Levi, Dr. Phil. Nat. Royal 8vo pp. 60. Rs. 1-4.

Hindu Stridhanadbikar, by Pandit Narayanchandra Smriti-tirtha. Demy 8vo pp. 232.

Calendar, Part II, 1929, supplement 1935. D/Demy 16mo pp. 590 + vi. Rs. 3-0.

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University Question Papers for 1931. D/Demy 16mo pp. 1052 + v. Rs. 5-0.

Calendar, Part I, 1939. D/Demy 16mo pp. 1378 + xvi.

Books in the Press

JUNE, 1939

1. The Problem of Minorities, by Dr. Dharendra Nath Sen, M.A., Ph.D.
2. Generalities, (*Readership Lectures*), by F. W. Thomas, Esq., M.A.
3. Jubilee French Course, by J. Buffard, Esq
4. The Evolution of Indian Industry, by Dr. Rohinimohan Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.
5. Santhal Insurrections, by Dr K. K Datta, M.A., Ph.D.
6. Sree Krishna Bijay, Edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A
7. An Introduction to Indian Philosophy by Dr S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D. and Dr. D. M. Dutt, M.A., Ph.D.
8. General Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts, edited by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A.
9. Patua Sangit, edited by G. S. Dutt, Esq., I.C.S.
10. Courtesy in Shakespeare, by Dr. Mohinimohan Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D.
11. Studies in Tantras, by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, M.A., D Litt
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13. Bharate Karu Silpa, by Mr. Asitkumar Halder
14. Prasthanabheda, by Madhusudan Saraswati, edited by Mahamahopadhyay Gurucharan Tarka-Darshana-tirtha.
15. Vyaptipanchaka, by Pt. Anantakumar Tarkatirtha.
16. Bharitiya Banaushadhir Parichaya, by Dr. Kalipada Biswas, M.A., D.Sc. and Mr. Ekkari Ghosh.
17. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXXII.
18. Nyayamanjari, edited by Pandit Panchanan Tarkabagis.
19. Industrial Finance in India, by Dr. Sarojkumar Bose, M.A., Ph.D.
20. Collected Published Papers, by the late Mr. Hemchandra Dasgupta, M.A., F.G.S.
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23. Translation of Pali Literature and Language, by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, Dr.Phil., D.Lit.
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25. Calendar, Part II, 1929, Supplement 1936.
26. Old Persian Inscriptions, by Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D.

27. Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, by Dr. Binaychandra Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
28. Studies in the Dimensions of Erythrocytes of Man, by Dr. Hemendranath Chatterjee, M.B.
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51. Kavya-o-Kabitabali, by Late Poet Beharilal Chakrabarti.
52. Banga Sahityer Katha, by Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D.
53. Asutosh Sanskrit Series, Edited by MM. Prof. V. Sastri.
54. Tibetan Reader, by MM. Prof. V. Sastri.
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57. Manobijnan, by Mr. Charuchandra Sinha, M.A.
58. Bharater Silpa Katha, by Mr. Asitkumar Haldar.
59. Orthographical Dictionary, edited by Mr. Charuchandra Bhattacharyya.
60. Rāisekharer Padavali, by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

IV. HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY

2. INDIA (MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN).

Aspects of Bengali Society, by Tamonashchandra Dasgupta,
M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 409. Rs. 4-8.

Dr. Dasgupta's work, originally a thesis for the Doctorate of the Calcutta University, embodies the result of the research-work carried for a number of years in the field of the Social History of Bengal and contains a wealth of important material for which the author has ransacked old Bengali literature with admirable patience. It is a most lucid and authoritative account of social conditions prevailing in Bengal during the Middle Ages. The ground it covers has never been covered before. "Ship-building and Commerce," "Hindu-Moslem Unity," "Architecture," "Religion," "Agriculture," "Economic Condition," are some of the chapter-headings.

1. *Dr. Sylvain Lévi*.—"No book on modern history of India, as good as it may be, can compare with the picture you have given.....From materials collected with an untiring industry, you have built up something living, and full of life indeed. Years ago, I could see from your information on ships and sea-trade, so kindly compiled on my request, that your place was among the best-gifted young scholars of India. I can assure you that I constantly refer to your papers, whenever I do not happen to find exactly the information I am hunting for. I come across facts and dates which prove important in some other lines. When your example inspires a team of young workers who would do for the whole of India what you have so happily done for Bengal, then a real history of modern India can be written: instead of local or imperial chronicles centering around rajas and padishahs, we shall get an image of Indian people, Indian life, Indian activity. Your charming chapter on birds comes as a lovely conclusion; you have not to apologise for it, but we have to thank you for this valuable addition."

2. *Sir George A. Grierson*.—".....I have read it with great interest, and found it full of valuable information."

3. *Prof. Jules Bloch*.—".....The subjects interest me much. The Boomerang question is very important....."

4. *Luzac's Oriental List and Book Review*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2, April-June, 1927.—"It embraces a wide range of topics: ship-building, commerce, architecture, warfare war-music, pastimes, clothes, ornaments and cooking, besides which there are some more general chapters on manners and customs and Hindu-Moslem unity, the latter containing some instructive instances of the tendency of the two faiths—now-a-days rather sadly at variance—to coalesce. We read of Brahmins consulting the Koran to find out an auspicious day and of a Mahomedan poet dedicating his poems to Krishna....."

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5. *The Modern Review*, February, 1928.—"He has patiently and faithfully collected the materials on eleven topics, and those who depend on and are in need of such materials will derive much benefit from the work under notice....."

6. *The Times Literary Supplement* noticed the work in its issue of Thursday, the 31st March, 1927, p. 235, and the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VI, Part I, April, 1927, similarly noticed it among select contents from Oriental Journals (p. 139).

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Progressism (An Essay in Social Philosophy) (*Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1929*), by Edward Leroy Schaub, John Evans Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy, North Western University. Demy 8vo pp. 305. 1938. Rs. 4-0.

Contents:—I Some Preliminary Remarks.

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Supplement: Neo-Platonism in Religion.

Indian Nationality (*Calcutta University Jubilee Research Prize Thesis, 1922*), by Sukumar Dutt, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., Vice-Principal, Ramjas College, Delhi. Royal 8vo pp. 210. 1926. Rs. 3-0.

Contents:—Introduction.
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The work is a concise academic study of an outstanding problem of Indian constitutional politics. The treatment is from a strikingly original point of view. Current conceptions of Nationality are acutely analysed and exposed and an entirely new conception of Indian Nationality is propounded. The work is eminently helpful to all statesmen and students of Indian life and history who have to deal with India, whether in the field of practical politics or in the sphere of academic study.

History of Political Thought from Rammohun to Dayananda, Vol. I (Bengal), by Bimanbihari Majumdar, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 518. 1934. Rs. 4-8.

Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah, 1740-70, Vol. I (Social and Economic), by Kalikinkar Datta, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 587. Rs. 5-8.

The author has made a laudable effort to throw new light on some of the least known aspects of the social and economic history of Bengal from a study of a huge mass of literary and documentary records. His reconstruction of the social history will prove of immense interest. The major part of the volume has been devoted to the East India Company, their factories in this province, their purchases and sales, their agents and officers, and the inquisitive student will find these chapters a valuable mine of information.

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"The learned author has drawn upon a mass of unpublished Records of the East India Company which throw a flood of light on the subject matter. He has made an extensive and exhaustive study of the contemporary Bengali, Sanskrit and Persian literature to write a connected social history of the country. Some of the books utilised by him are in manuscript and are not widely known to the literary world.....Not only the professed students of history but also the public in general, we believe, will find the book interesting and useful.....No other writer, Indian or European, has been able to present such a mass of materials regarding the internal life of the factories of the East India Company as this indefatigable investigator has done.....We congratulate the author and the University of Calcutta on the production of this illuminating social and economic history of our country."—*The Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

Principles of Training for Historical Investigation, by Prof. Arthur Percival Newton, M.A., D.Lit., B.Sc., F.S.A. Demy 8vo pp. 99. 1929. Re. 1-8.

3. EUROPE

European Alliance (1815-1825), by Prof. C. K. Webster, M.A., Litt.D. Royal 8vo pp. 94. 1929. Re. 1-8.

The book consists of six lectures delivered in the University in 1927. The author has shown how the Great Powers of Europe formed an Alliance originally to protect Europe from French

aggrandisement during the Napoleonic period and has discussed the different aspects of the Alliance. He has shown what changes had occurred in the Alliance after the Conference of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818-1820) and what attitude the Alliance took towards the Spanish Revolution (1820-23). In the last Lecture he has compared the Alliance with the new institution, the League of Nations.

4. ISLAM

A History of Islamic People, by S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., B.C.L., Bar.-at-Law. Demy 8vo pp. 178. 1914. (*Slightly damaged.*) Reduced price Rs. 4-8.

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The Early Heroes of Islam, by S. A. Salik, B.A. Demy 8vo pp. 514. 1926. Rs. 6-0.

In this book the author has tried to place before the public brief sketches of the Prophet of Arabia and of his five immediate successors. It also contains short notices of a galaxy of great men who flourished in Arabia in that age and gives an

interesting account of the birth and the rapid growth of Islam. It will be both interesting and instructive to readers of every creed and colour.

The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, by J. Wellhausen. Translated into English, by Margaret Graham Weir, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 607. 1927. Rs. 7-8.

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Lectures on Arabic Historians, by Prof. D. S. Margoliouth, D.Lit., F.B.A. Demy 8vo pp. 168. 1930. Rs. 2-0.

Mussulman Culture, by V. V. Bartold. Translated into English from the Russian by Prof. Shahid Suhrawardy. Size 5½ in. by 7½ in., pp. 136 + xxviii, 1934. Re. 1-8.

In this book the author has attempted a survey of the entire field of Mussulman culture and tried to explain those cultural inter-relations which had existed between the territories of the Mussulman world.

Administration of Justice during the Muslim Rule in India, by Wahed Husain, B.L. Demy 8vo pp. 211. 1934. Rs. 2-0.

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Comparative Religion (*Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectures for 1921-22*), by Prof. A. A. Macdonell, M.A. (Oxon.), Ph.D. (Leipzig), D.Litt. (Edin.), D.O.L. (Calcutta). Royal 8vo pp. 194. 1925. Rs. 3-0.

The work is the first course of lectures on Comparative Religion delivered under the auspices of the Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh foundation. The author has given a survey, in eight lectures, of all the important religions of antiquity, including an introductory one on 'Primitive Religion.' They embrace Confucianism, Zoroastrianism, Brahmanism (including Buddhism), Greek religion, Judaism, Muhammadanism and Christianity. These religions are treated objectively, not from the point of view of any particular one. It has been shown what they have in common, and to what extent each approaches universality, to the outlook of a world religion.

Newness of Life (*Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectures on Comparative Religion for 1924-25*), by Prof. Maurice A. Canney, M.A., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester. Royal 8vo pp. 180. Rs. 3-0.

Contents: I—Disposal of the Dead; II—Ideas about Death; III—Birth and Creation; IV—Givers of Life; V—Men and Gods; VI—The Idea of Holiness; VII—Religious Experience; VIII—Life More Abundant.

The Pilgrimage of Faith in the World of Modern Thought (*Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectures on Comparative Religion for 1927-28*), by Prof. D. C. Macintosh. Royal 8vo pp. 305 + 22. 1931. Rs. 4-0.

The Contribution of Christianity to Ethics (*Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectures for 1930-31*), by Prof. C. J. Webb, M.A., D.Litt. (Oxon.), Hon. LL.D. (St. Andrews). Royal 8vo pp. 121. Rs. 2-8.

The Foundations of Living Faiths (*Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectures on Comparative Religion for 1933-34*), by H. D. Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 538. 1938. Rs. 5-8.

This is an introduction to comparative religion. The contents of the chapters are:—

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Immanuel Kant on Philosophy in General (Translated with four Introductory Essays), by Humayun Kabir, Scholar of Government of Bengal at Exeter College, Oxford and Lecturer in Philosophy and English Literature, Calcutta University. Demy 8vo pp. 238. Rs. 5-0.

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A Genetic History of the Problems of Philosophy, by the late Muralydhar Banerjee, M.A. Developed and completed by his son Hiranmay Banerjee, I.C.S. Royal 8vo pp. 308. 1935. Rs. 3-8.

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The Self and the Ideal, by Rashvihari Das, M.A., Ph.D. An essay in metaphysical construction on the basis of moral consciousness. Reprinted from the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XXVII. Royal 8vo pp. 253. Rs. 3-0.

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